

DEVALASMRTI-RECONSTRUCTION

AND

CRITICAL STUDY

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M.A., Ph.D.

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CRITICAL STUDY

and

APPENDICES

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DELHI—INDIA

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FOREWORD

It is a matter of great pleasure to me to introduce the present work of my pupil to the scholarly world.

Devala is a sage of great antiquity. He is referred to by Śrī Śaṅkarācārya (788-820 A.D.) in his commentary on the *Brahmasūtra* (I. 4.28) as a writer of *Dharmasūtra*. Māṭhara in his commentary on the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* refers to Devala with great reverence. The *Bhagavadgītā* (10-13) once and the *Mahābhārata* frequently refer to his name.

This shows that this ancient sage must have written some *Dharmasūtra* and a *Smṛti* which were lost in the blackhole of time. Some ninety verses ascribed to Devala are already published as *Devalasmṛti* (Vide *Aṣṭādaśasmṛtayah*, Mujaffaranagar, 1942 A.D., *Smṛtīnām Samuccayaḥ* Anandashram Series, 2nd Edn. Poona, 1929 and *Smṛtisandarbhā*, Gurumandala Series, Calcutta, 1952-53). The scholars however believe that this chapter of ninety verses was ascribed later on to Devala as the verses refer to the event of invasion of Muslim Arabs in Sindh in 712 A.D., their conversion of Hindus into Muslims and their subsequent purification.

But the stray verses in the name of Devala are quoted in many religious works, especially digests of law and the commentaries on the *Smṛtis*.

The attempts to reconstruct the lost *Smṛtis* were made by scholars. Mm. Dr. P.V. Kane reconstructed the *Vyavahāra* (litigation) section of the *Kātyāyanasmṛti*. The Oriental Institute of Baroda published for the first time the text of *Bṛhaspatismṛti*-reconstructed by Shri K.V. Rangaswami Aiyangar in Gaekwad's Oriental Series (No. 85). S.C. Banerjee tried to collect only the *Sūtras* (omitting the verses) ascribed to Devala. Pt. Udayavir Shastri published the *Sūtras* of Devala, pertaining to the *Sāṅkhya* and the *Yoga* systems. But nobody so far had ventured to collect all the verses ascribed to Devala and to reconstruct his *Smṛti*.

Shri J.S. Padeshastri, a great savant of the Oriental

Institute got this idea and entrusted the work of reconstructing the *Devalasmṛti* to his nephew Shri M.L. Wadekar, and that of *Śaṅkhalikhitasmṛti* to Shri A.D. Thaker for their Ph.D. research. Dr. Wadekar has left no stone unturned in unearthing the lost *Devalasmṛti*. He has ransacked almost all the digests and commentaries on the Smṛtis (vide the Bibliography). He has systematically arranged the collected material under the three sections of the *Dharmaśāstra* viz. the *Ācāra*, *Vyavahāra* and *Prāyaścitta*. The additional material on astrology and astronomy is also given in the appendix.

Thus Dr. Wadekar has successfully tried to enliven Devala by reconstructing his lost *Smṛti*, by his silent and ardent labour for nearly five years.

The original idea of Shri Padeshastri was to get the reconstructed two *Smṛti*-works published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series of the the Oriental Institute. But unfortunately these being thēses, the rules did not permit their publication in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series. The credit of publishing such scholarly work was reserved so to say for the Koshal Book Depot.

I am proud of the success of Dr. Wadekar who worked throughout under my guidance and could contribute a scholarly work.

In my opinion, the present work of Dr. Wadekar will serve as a model for future researchers in this field.

I wish warm reception to the work by the world of scholars.

RATHAYĀTRĀ

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PREFACE

It gives me great pleasure to present to the world of scholars, this second volume of my book. When the first volume of my book, incorporating "The Reconstructed Text of the *Devalasmṛti* (along with Introduction & sources and variants) was out in the market, there was a great demand from all corners for the second volume of the same, containing the critical study. The publishers (Shri Rushipal Sharma and Shri Chandrakant Gautam) immediately approached me for publication of the second volume. They swiftly got the entire matter composed on the computer and sent me the proofs of this book. But due to the heavy pressure of work as In-charge Director of the Oriental Institute, Baroda I could not complete the job of reading proofs for a couple of months. Hence, there was some delay in the publication of the present volume. The present volume of the book not only contains the critical study of the text of the *Devalasmṛti* from different aspects, elucidated in the text by highlighting the distinctive features and comparing them with other *smṛtis*, but, it also incorporates the useful appendices. My articles (1) "Devala A Forgotten Authority on *Jyotiṣa*" (published in the Shashidhar Sharma Felicitation Volume, Punjab, Part I, Horizons of Indic Studies, Chandigarh, 1996 pp. 230-233) and (2) "The Little-known Devala-exposition of Comets" (published in the Journal of Ganganath Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Vol. XLIV, Jan.-Dec., Part 1-4 1988, Allahabad, pp. 71-80) are reproduced here in Appendices IV and V. The author is indebted to the publishers of these volumes. The additional verses, ascribed to Devala, found in the recently published book-the *Yotidharma Samuccaya* of Yādavaprakāśa (edited & translated by Patrick Olivelle, Albany, 1995) and which are not included in the Reconstructed Text are given in the Appendix-VI.

For the sake of convenience of the readers, the abbreviations (General) and the Bibliography appearing in the 1st vol. are reprinted in this volume. The General Index to both the volumes is added at the end for the benefit of the scholars and general readers.

I am highly grateful to my Gude Prof. Dr. Mm. A.N.

Jani (Ex. Director Oriental Institute & Ex-Professor and Head, Deptt. of Sanskrit, M.s. University of Baroda) and also to Prof. Dr. Mm. S.G. Kantawala (Ex. Director, Oriental Institute & Ex-Professor & Head, Deptt. of Sanskrit, Pali & Prakrit, M.S. University of Baroda) for their valuable guidance and constant encouragement. I am also very much thankful to Prof. Dr. R.I. Nanavati (the present Director of the Oriental Institute), Shri P.H. Joshi (Research Officer), Dr. S.Y. Wakankar (Research Officer) and also other colleagues of the Oriental Institute for their co-operation and guidance in all respects. I also thank Mrs. Vijaya Lele & Dr. Mrs. U.M. Brahmachari for their help in preparing the verse-Index.

I thank the Authorities of the M.S. University of Baroda for giving me permission to publish my thesis.

I am very much thankful to Shri Rushipal Sharma and Shri C.P. Gautam publishers- for their sincere efforts in undertaking and nicely completing the job within a very short period.

The blessings of my maternal uncle, the Late Shri Jagannath Padeshastri have always been there in the success of all my intellectual undertakings.

Baroda

M.L. Wadekar

ABBREVIATIONS

A.M.	- Ācāramayūkha
A.P.	- Agnipurāṇa
Ap. D.S.	- Āpastamba Dharmasūtra
Ap.G.S.	- Āpastamba Gṛhyasūtra
Ap.M.P.	- Āpastamba Mantrapāṭha
Ap.S.	- Āpastamba Smṛti
Artha. S.	- Arthasāstra
Asv. G.S.	- Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra
Asv. S.S.	- Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra
AV	- Atharvaveda
B.B.	- Bālabhāṭṭi
Bd.P.	- Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa
B.D.S.	- Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra
B.G.S.	- Bhāradvāja Gṛhyasūtra
Bh.G.	- Bhagavadgītā
B.P.	- Bhāgavatapurāṇa
Bh.S.	- Bhahmasūtra
Bh.S.S.	- Brahmasūtra Śāṅkarabhāṣya
Bhv. P.	- Bhaviṣya Purāṇa
Br.Up.	- Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad
B.S. (Saṁ.)	- Bṛhaspati Smṛti (Saṁskāra) (Reconstructed Text)
Bv.P.	- Brahmaparivarta Purāṇa
Ch.	- Chapter
C.M.S.	- Caturviṁśati Mata Saṅgraha
Cr. ed.	- Critical edition
C.S.	- Carakasamhitā
Da.Sa.	- Dānasāgara
D. Bh.	- Devībhāgavata
D.K.	- Dānakamalākara
D.S.	- Dharmasūtra

G.D.S.	- Gautama Dharmasūtra
G.P.	- Garuḍa Purāṇa
G.R.	- Gṛhastha Ratnākara
G.S.	- Gṛhyasūtra
G.S.P.	- Gṛhyasaṅgrahapariśiṣṭa
H.D.S.	- History of Dharmaśāstra
H.K.	- Hemādri Kālanirṇaya
J.B.	- Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa
J.O.I.	- Journal of the Oriental Institute of Baroda
Kāt. S.	- Kātyāyana Smṛti
Kat. S.S.	- Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra
Kat. S.Sa.	- Kātyāyana Śmṛtisāroddhāra
Kau. G.S.	- Kauṣītaki Gṛhyasūtra
K.K.B.	- Kṛtyakalpataru Brahmacārikāṇḍa
K.K.N.	- Kṛtyakalpataru Niyatakālakāṇḍa
K.K.S.	- Kapiṣṭhala Kaṭha Saṁhitā
K.K.T.	- Kṛtyakalpataru Tīrthakāṇḍa
K.K.V.	- Kṛtyakalpataru Vratākāṇḍa
K.P.	- Kūrma Purāṇa
K.R.	- Kṛtyaratnākara
K.S.	- Kāthakasamhitā
L.Asv.S.	- Laghu-Āśvalāyana Smṛti
L.P.	- Liṅgapurāṇa
Manu.S.	- Manusmṛti
Mbh.Ādi.	- Mahābhārata - Ādiparava
Mbh. Anu.	- " - Anuśāsanaparva
Mbh. Āśra.	- " - Āśramavāsikaparva
Mbh. Āśva.	- " - Āśvamedhikaparva
Svar.	- " - Svargārohanaparva
Mitā.	- Mitākṣarā
Mm.S.	- Mīmāṃsāsūtra
M.N.Up.	- Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣad

M.P.	- Matya Purāṇa
M.R.P. (D.V.)	- Madanaratnapradīpa Dānavivekodyota
M.S.	- Maitrāyaṇi Saṁhitā
n.	- Note
N.S.	- Nirmayasindhu
Nya. S.	- Nyāyasūtra
P.G.S.	- Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra
P.M.	- Parāśara-mādhava
P.P.	- Padmapurāṇa
P.T.	- Prāyaścitta-tattva
Pt.	- Part
R.T.	- Reconstructed Text
RV.	- Rgveda Saṁhitā
Sāñ. Kā	- Sāñkhyakārikā
Sāñ. S.	- Sāñkhyasūtra
S.C.I.	- Smṛticandrikā-Āhnika
S.C.II	- Smṛticandrikā-Vyavahāra
Sect.	- Section
S.M.(V.)	- Smṛtimuktāphala-Vaṇāśramadharmakāṇḍa
S.S.	- Smṛtyarthasāra
S.T.	- Smṛtitattva
SV.	- Sāmaveda
S.V.Vya.	- Sarasvatīvilāsa-Vyavahārakāṇḍa
Sve. Up.	- Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad
T.A.	- Taittirīya Āraṇyaka
Tan. M.B.	- Tāṇḍya-mahābrāhmaṇa
T.B.	- Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa
T.S.	- Taittirīya Saṁhitā
Vai. D.S.	- Vaikhānasa Dharmasūtra
V.D.S.	- Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra
V.M.(P)	- Vīramitrodaya-paribhāṣā-prakāśa
V.M. (Yāj.V.)	- Vīramitrodaya-Yājñavalkya-Vyākhyā

Vol.	- Volume
V.P.	- Vāyupurāṇa
V.S.	- Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā
Vsn.P.	- Viṣṇupurāṇa
Vsn.S.	- Viṣṇusmṛti
Vya.T.	- Vyavahāra -tattva
Yāj.S.	- Yājñavalkyasmṛti
Y.S.	- Yogasūtra

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CHAPTER : I

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT-OUTLINE

The present reconstructed text of the *Devalasmṛti* contains totally 2556 *sūtras* & verses (2475 of the *Devalasmṛti*- text and 81 of the *Parīṣiṣṭa* of Devala—quotations on *Jyotiṣa*). They are arranged in three main *adhyāyas* of *ācāra*, *vyavahāra* & *prāyaścitta* (and *parīṣiṣṭa* on *Jyotiṣa*). The total number of the *sūtras* & verses in each of these three *adhyāyas* is 1530, 83 & 862 respectively.

The above three main *adhyāyas* are also sub-divided in separate chapters, called *prakaraṇas*. The total number of *prakaraṇas* in the *ācāra adhyāya* is twelve, that in the *vyavahāra adhyāya* is four, & that in the *prāyaścitta adhyāya* is six. The *parīṣiṣṭa* on *Jyotiṣa* also contains four different sections or *prakaraṇas*.

The names of the various *prakaraṇas* & the total number of *sūtras* & verses contained in each of them are mentioned below:

TABLE No. 1

Names of *Prakaraṇas* of R.T. & Total Number of *Sūtras* &/or *Ślokas* In Each of Them

Name	No. of <i>sūtra</i> and/or <i>ślokas</i>
I. <i>Ācārādhyāyaḥ</i>	1530
1. <i>Dharmasvarūpam</i>	50
2. <i>Varṇāśramajātidharmāḥ</i>	278
3. <i>Saṁskārāḥ</i>	140
4. <i>Paribhāṣā</i>	43
5. <i>Āhnikam</i>	195

6. <i>Bhakṣyābhakṣyam</i>	102
7. <i>Deśadharmāḥ kālādharmāśca</i>	76
8. <i>Dānam</i>	166
9. <i>Dravyasuddhiḥ</i>	90
10. <i>Āśaucam</i>	42
11. <i>Antyeṣṭiḥ</i>	124
12. <i>Śrāddham</i>	224
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2. <i>Ātatāyinaḥ</i>	3
3. <i>Strīpuṇḍharmāḥ</i>	20
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2. <i>Mlecchitaśuddhiḥ</i>	72
3. <i>Anugrahaprāyaścittam</i>	23
4. <i>Vratāni</i>	247
5. <i>Tīrthayātrā</i>	45
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1. <i>Saṁkārāḥ</i>	15
2. <i>Kṛṣiḥ</i>	23
3. <i>Grahacāraḥ</i>	34
4. <i>Ariṣṭāni</i>	9
Total No.	2556

CHAPTER : II

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT-DATE

THE FOUR STYLISTIC FEATURES :

The text of the lost *Devalasmṛti* has been reconstructed, on the basis of quotations, available in the digests & commentaries on *Dharmaśāstra*. The present reconstructed text contains-(1) The prose *sūtras*, along with corresponding verses, commenting upon them, (2) The prose *sūtras*, without such verses, (3) The verses, like *sūtras*, with condensed matter & corresponding verses, explaining the condensed matter of the *sūtra*-form of verses (4) Other verses in general, similar to those of the metrical *Smṛtis*.

POSSIBILITY OF ADDITIONS & INTERPOLATIONS :

The present reconstructed text is not a work of one definite period. But the original text of Devala, has been inflated by several additions & interpolations, at several successive periods. Hence it contains earlier & later strata. When even the standard *Smṛtis*, like those of Manu & Yājñavalkya are said¹ to have interpolations, it is quite natural that the present reconstructed text of the lost *Devalasmṛti*, should contain additions & interpolations.

THE EARLIEST STRATUM :

The portion of the text, having characteristics, of the *sūtra*-form, as mentioned in the points 1 to 3 above, represents the earliest stratum of the present text. With the help of several internal & external evidences, it was previously maintained² that Devala, belonged to the period, earlier than that of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* (200 A.D.), & the *Yogasūtra* of Patañjali (between 145 A.D. & 400 A.D.). The above-mentioned

sūtra-form portion of the present text can be believed to be belonging to the same period:

THE THREE SUCCESSIVE CHRONOLOGICAL STRATA:

The remaining portion of the text, can also be believed to have the following three successive chronological strata.

- (1) The verses generally dealing with the *smṛti*-topics, except those, belonging to the portion, 2 & 3, mentioned below.
- (2) The verses, dealing with the problem of persons, forcibly converted by *Mlecchas* (*Mlecchitaśuddhi*-III.II).
- (3) The other verses from the *prāyaścitta* section of Hemadri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*.

THE FIRST STRATUM :

The metrical portion of the present text, falling in the Group 1, just mentioned, can be placed in the period between 400 A.D. to 600 A.D., for the following reasons.

- (1) On the basis of the verses from Devala, on partition, inheritance & on women's right over *strīdhana*, cited in the *Aparāka* & the *Smṛticandrikā*, Mm. P.V. Kane³ thinks that Devala, the jurist, flourished about the same time, as the great jurists, Bṛhaspati (200 A.D. to 400 A.D.) and Kātyāyana (400 A.D. to 600 A.D.).
- (2) The following *Smṛtikāras* are mentioned in this portion of the text—Aṅgiras, Atri, Āpastamba, Uśanas, Kātyāyana, Gālava, Gobhila, Gautama, Jātūkarma, Dakṣa, Nārada, Parāśara, Manu, Yama, Yājñavalkya, Likhita, Vasiṣṭha, Vākpati, Viṣṇu, Vyāsa, Śaṅkha, Saṁvarta & Hārīta. This may indicate the posterity of the present portion of the text to the these *Smṛtikāras* & their works existing at that time. But this verse, enumerating *Smṛtikāras*, may be a later interpolation, as it is found only in the *Bālabhāṭṭi* (*ācāra* p.9).

- (3) The following topics, referred to in the present text are noteworthy from the standpoint of chronological position of the present portion of the text. (i) References to *Vratas* like-*Hutāsanī*, *Gavām Kṛīḍanam* on *Balipratipad*, *Nāgapañcamī*, *Ekādaśī* (cf. verses-852 to 871). (ii) Rites of *Saṅkrānti* (verses 819 to 825) etc. These topics are not referred to or dealt with in the *sūtra* literature & the *Manu* & *Yājñavalkya Smṛtis*. This suggests the posterity of this portion of the text to the above *Smṛtis*.

THE SECOND STRATUM :

The portion of the *Mlecchitaśuddhi* (3.2), of the reconstructed text, is, in fact, the printed *Devalasmṛti*, with its verses, re-arranged. The problem of the date of this portion of the text, has been considered by the eminent scholars.

OPINIONS OF SCHOLARS :

- (1) Dr. Bhabatosh Bhatacarya⁴ remarks that "this shows that this shorter *Devalasmṛti* of ninety verses is also not a very late work, having been quoted by Śūlapāṇi of the 14th century".
- (2) Mm.P.V. Kane⁵, on the authority of Sarvajñanārāyaṇa, who seems to quote these verses as of Devala, opines that "these verses are certainly older than 1000 A.D.".
- (3) Dr. A.S. Altekar⁶ ascribes the printed *Devalasmṛti* to the "social thinker of Sindh which would place its composition in the ninth century at the earliest".
- (4) Dr. S.V. Ketkar⁷ suggests that the probable period of the composition of the printed *Devalasmṛti* is about 732 A.D. He fixes this date, on consideration of the political condition in Sindh, during the eighth century & the events narrated in the *Smṛti*. It refers to the forcible conversion of Hindus to Islam in Sindh &

Devala tries to tackle the problem of readmittance by purification of persons, troubled by Mlecchas.

Thus the *Mleechitasuddhi* (3.2.) portion of the present text, may be placed in the 8th century A.D., as it seems to have connection with the social & political condition⁸ in Sindh, during that period.

THE THIRD & LATEST STRATUM :

The verses from the *prāyaścitta* section of Hemādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, seem to be of later period, for the following reasons.

- (i) There is reference to the following authors & works in these verses : (A) Authors-Jātukarṇya (363), Vṛddhamanu (366), Harihara (598), Gālava (744). (B) Works- *Bhārdvājasūtram* (1239), *Skandapurāṇa* (1745), *Viṣṇusahasranāma* (1929), *Gajendramokṣa* (1929). This indicates the posterity of the present portion of the text to the above authors & works.
- (ii) The following references are also noteworthy from the chronological standpoint. (1) Mention of *Nāndīśrādha* (1034 & 1047) *Puṇyāhavācana* (1034), *Akṣarārambha* (377). (2) Reference to Paurāṇic verse-*Samastasampat* etc. (1040). All these references also indicate composition of the present portion in a later period.
- (iii) These verses are very much influenced by the Paurāṇic literature. The grammatical & metrical defects, the repetitions of certain words & phrases, references to mythological legends to extol certain topics, like *dāna*, *kṛcchra* etc., the existence of conversational verses-all these factors⁹, uncommon to a *smṛti* but frequent in the Puranic literature, reflect upon the Paurāṇic influence on this portion & indicate its composition in a later period.

But these verses are quoted as of Devala in the *prāyaścitta* section of Hemādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*. Hence they can be placed in a period some centuries, earlier than 1300 A.D. (the period of Hemādri). Moreover, the dated work, (still in

Manuscript form), namely the *Pāraskaraghyakārikā*¹⁰ of Reṇukācārya (composed in 1266 A.D.) mentions a view of Devala, which is found in the verse from the present portion of the text. This may reflect upon the fact that the verses, even from the *prāyaścitta* section of Hemādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, are earlier than 13th century A.D. & may be presumed to be some centuries earlier than that period.

CONCLUSION :

Thus the entire text belongs to the four different & successive chronological strata, with the earlier limit of at least first century A.D. (if not earlier still) & the later limit of 12th century A.D.

REFERENCES

1. H.D.S.-Vol. I, Pt. I, p 331 & 332 & 430.
2. Cf. Vol. I, Sect. I, Ch. II-D.
3. H.D.S.-Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 284.
4. *Studies in Dharmaśāstra*, p. 9
5. H.D.S., Vol.II, Pt. I, p. 380, n. 928^c.
6. Lingat, Robert-*The Classical Law of India*, p. 124. He refers to Dr. A.S. Altekar's '*Sources of Hindu Dharma*' (p. 19-(Sholapur, 1952) in the footnote (3).
7. *Mahārāṣṭrīya Jñānakośa*, Vibhāga 15 (DA), p. 156.
8. Ch. III for details.
9. Cf. for example R.T. *Adhyāya III, Prakaraṇa I&IV*
10. *Caturthe' hani yat proktam gamanam devalādibhiḥ*—Manuscript Acc. No. 12092 in the Oriental Institute, Baroda, *Garbhādhānaprakaraṇa*, F. no. 3, Verse 24. For this cf. R.T. Sr. no. 332.

CHAPTER : III

RECONSTRUCTED TEXT-REGION OF ITS ORIGIN

INTRODUCTORY :

The *Smṛti*-quotations, ascribed to Devala, occurring in the digests & commentaries on *Dharmaśāstra* are compiled & arranged in the present Reconstructed text. The problem of the home of Devala, and region of origin of the present Reconstructed Text is considered here with the help of external & internal evidences.

EXTERNAL EVIDENCES :

- (1) In the *Mahābhārata*, Devala is mentioned among the sages, fit to be always remembered (*nityasmaranīya*), that belonged the Northern Direction.¹
- (2) In the *Mahābhārata*, Devala is also mentioned to be living at *Ādityatīrtha*,² on the bank of river Sarasvatī.

Thus according to the *Mahābhārata*, North India, was the home of Devala.

INTERNAL EVIDENCES :

- (1) The chapter on *Tīrthayātrā* (III. 5) of the Reconstructed Text is full of references to various sacred places. Both Northern & Southern sacred places, are referred to in it. But the references to the places from North India are frequent in the other chapters of the text. This may suggest close acquaintance or familiarity of the author with the North India.
- (2) The method of reckoning months is of two kinds.
 - (A) Months, ending on the full moon day

(*pūrṇimānta*), (B) Months, ending on the new moon day (*amānta*).

The former is prevalent in the North India, even to-day, while the latter is still prevalent in the South India. Devala follows the Northern method of reckoning months, as he explains³ that the rainy season (technically known as *cāturmāsya*) is for four months, starting from the month of *Śrāvaṇa*. This is quite correct, in accordance with the method of reckoning months, ending on the full-moon day & not in accordance with the method of reckoning months, ending on new-moon day. Hence according to the *pūrṇimānta* kind of reckoning, the month of *Āṣāḍha* would end on the full-moon day of it, & from the next day the month of *Śrāvaṇa* will begin.

Mm.P.V. Kane mentions that "the months in the North-West India, were *pūrṇimānta*, in the *Kharoṣṭhi* records, drawn up in *Kaniṣka's* era⁴".

Thus the above evidences would suggest Devala, the author of the text to be belonging to the North.

- (3) But the chapter on purification of Hindus, troubled by the *Mlecchas* (*Mlecchitaśuddhi*-III, II) explicitly mentions that sages approached Devala, who was sitting at ease on the bank of Sindhu⁵. The word Sindhu has two meanings (1) ocean (2) the river Indus. Of these, the former meaning has no significance & relevance in the present context. The chapter is concerned with the problem of readmittance by purification of persons, kidnapped & troubled by the *Mlecchas*. The problem was pertinent in the North-West of India, where the river Sindhu flows. This part had to face, relatively more trouble of repeated foreign invasions, for a considerable period, than the South and the North-East of India. Hence the meaning of the river 'Indus' would be preferable in the present context.

But the river Indus flows through a large portion of Northern India. It starts from the *Mānasa* lake of the *Himālayas* & enters the ocean on the west-coast near Karanchi. There are also other tributary rivers, along with Sindhu in the upper

part of it, but in Sindh, Sindhu river alone is flowing. The Sindh country, itself might also have received the name Sindh, due to the river Sindhu, alone, flowing through it. Hence the phrase 'Sindhutīre' suggests the bank of river Sindhu in Sindh country.

OPINIONS OF SCHOLARS :

Mm.P.V. Kane⁶ has remarked that, "Muslims first attacked India, in the 8th century, from the direction of the province of Sindh. This invasion led to the enslavement & forcible conversion of many people. It appears that Devala & other Smṛtikāras tackled with the problem of taking back such people".

Dr. A.S. Altekar⁷ ascribes the printed *Devalasmṛti* to the 'social thinker of Sindh'.

Dr. S.V. Ketakar⁸ connects the printed *Devalasmṛti*, with the social & political condition in Sindh, during 8th century A.D. Dāhira, a Hindu king was ruling over Sindh. But the Muslim king, Muhammada Kasama, defeated him in war & there was thus the rule of Muslims in about 712 A.D. Evidently, the Hindus living there, were very much troubled & forcibly converted to Islam, by Muslims. After about 20 years, the Rajaputas were successful in defeating & driving away the Muslims. Devala, the social reformer of Sindh, tried to solve the problem of re-admittance of Hindus, converted & troubled by the *Mlecchas*. He advocated that the person, having association with the *Mlecchas*, even for 20 years, can be purified by expiations, but beyond that limit, there is no means of purification. This statement also corroborates the above history, narrated by Dr. Ketakar.

CONCLUSION :

The home of Devala, the author of the reconstructed text, is definitely the North India. He might be living at the *Ādityatīrtha*, on the bank of river *Sarasvatī*. But the chapter on the *Mlecchitaśuddhi* was definitely ordained by Devala, sitting at ease on the bank of river Sindhu.

Thus it can be definitely maintained that North India was the home of Devala & the region of origin of the present reconstructed text.

REFERENCES

1. Uttarām diśamāśritya ya edhante nibodha tām/
.....Śvetaketuḥ kohalaśca vipulo devalastathā//
■ *Mbh. Anu.* 165/43-45 (Cr. ed. 13/151/36-38).
2. (A) Tasmīnśtīrthe sarasvatyāḥ śive puṇye parantapa/
■ *Mbh. Śalya.* 49/21 (Cr. ed. 9/48/20)
(B) Tasmiveva tu dharmātmā vasati sma tapodhanaḥ/
gārhsthyam dharmamāsthāya hyasito devalaḥ purā//
■ *Mbh. Śalya.* 50/1 (Cr. ed. 9/49/1)
3. Cf. *R.T.*, Sr. nos. 266-268.
4. *H.D.S.*-Vol. III, p. 905, n. 1766.
5. Cf. *R.T.*, Sr.no. 1813.
6. *H.D.S.*-Vol. II, Pt.I, p. 389.
7. Altekar, A.S.-"Sources of Hindu Dharma" p. 19 (Sholapur, 1952) the footnote (3)-as mentioned by Robert Lingat-The Classical Law of India, p. 124.
8. *Mahārāṣṭriya Jñānakośa-Vibhāga* 15 (Da), p. 156.

CHAPTER IV RECONSTRUCTED TEXT-SUMMARY

ADHYĀYA I

PRAKARAṆA I

DHARMASVARŪPAM :

In this chapter, the nature of *Dharma* is described by explaining the sources & constituents of *Dharma*.

The sources of *Dharma* are-*Vedās*, *Vedāṅgas*, *Smṛtis* & *Itihāsas*. They are explained accordingly (1-6).

The constituents of *Dharma* are *śauca*, *dāna*, *tapas*, *śraddhā*, *gurusevā*, *kṣamā*, *dayā*, *vijñāna*, *vinaya* & *satya* (7). All of them (except *śauca*, *dāna* & *satya*) are further defined & explained in the verses, that follow, in the order of their enumeration (8-49). The explanation of *śauca* & *dāna* is, however, available in the *dāna* (1.8) & *dravyaśuddhi* (1.9) *prakaraṇas* respectively. The explanation of the word *satya* is not available.

The last verse (50) mentions the quintessence of *Dharma*.

PRAKARAṆA II

VARṆĀŚRAMAJĀTIDHARMĀḤ :

This chapter contains the enumeration of *varṇas*, *jātis* etc. alongwith the description of the duties thereof, & of the persons, belonging to the four *āśramas* (social orders).

Firstly, the four *varṇas*, 4 *anulomas*, 6 *pratilomas*, & 6 *antarālas* are enumerated (51-59).

The duties of the four *varṇas*, namely, *Brāhmaṇa* (60-67),

Reconstructed Text-Summary

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Kṣatriya (68-85), *Vaiśya* (86-93) & *Śūdra* (94-101) & of Ladies (102-112) are described.

Thereafter the duties of the persons, belonging to the four *āśramas* (social orders), namely-*brahmacharya* (113-145), *gṛhastha* (146-216), *Vānaprastha* (217-226), *Sannyāsa* (227-294) are dealt with.

Then, the 4 *anulomas* (298-300), 6 *pratilomas*, (301 & 302), 6 *antarālas* (303-306) are defined. The persons of mixed castes *miśrajāḥ* (307-318) are explained & their duties are also specified.

Lastly, there is description of the duties of a *cāṇḍāla*. (321-328)

PRAKARAṆA III

SAMSKĀRĀḤ :

This chapter deals with the description of various *saṁskāras*.

The following *saṁskāras* are described. *Garbhādhāna* (331-350), *Puṁsavana* (352), *Śimanta* (351), *Jātakarma* (353-368), *Nāmakarma* (369), *Annaprāśana* (370, 371), *Karṇavedha* (372, 373), *Cūdākarma* (374-376), *Akṣarārambha* (377), *Upanayana* (378-384), *Upākarma* (385-387), *Vedavratatatuṣṭaya* (388-392), *Godāna* (393), & *Vivāha* (394-427).

The seven *saṁsthas* each of *pākayajña*, *haviryajña* & *somayajña* are also referred to (428-457).

Lastly, the *saṁskāras*, connected with agriculture namely-*Lāṅgalayojana* (458-468) are also dealt with.

(The *Samkāras* of *antyeṣṭi* (funeral rites), are to be found in the eleventh chapter of the text).

Thus generally all the *saṁskāras*, right from the *garbhādhāna* upto *vivāha*, have been treated in the present chapter.

PRAKARAṆA IV

PARIBHĀṢĀ :

This chapter contains the technical description of some ingredients of daily ritual.

The seven kinds of *dharbhas* are the first referred to (469). The rules, regarding preparation & utility of *pavitra* (470-474), *Kūrca* (475-478) & *Yajñopavīta* (479-511) are dealt with.

PRAKARAṆA V

ĀHNIKAM :

In this chapter, the rules, regarding the performance of daily rituals, right from getting up from the bed, upto *bhojana* (taking meals) are to be found.

The eight auspicious sights, that always command respect & adoration are mentioned (512, 513).

Then the rules, regarding answering the calls of nature (*mūtrapurīṣotsarga*) & *ācamana* (514- 554), the brushing of teeth (555, 556), bathing-are dealt with.

An esoteric procedure of *Mānasasnāna* is also explained (558-599).

The rules, about some religious rituals-like- *aghamarṣaṇa* (600-602), *mārjana* (603), *upasthāna* (604), etc. & the five great sacrifices, consisting of (i) *Brahmayajña* (611), (ii) *Tarpaṇa* (612-617), (iii) *Vaiśvadeva* (618- 626), (iv) *Baliharāṇa* (only mention is made), (v) *Atithipūjā* (629-638) are described. The procedure of *bhojana* (taking meals) is also dealt with (643-685). The *bhojyānnāḥ* (686)-(i.e. persons, whose food is allowed to be partaken) & *abhojyānnāḥ* (687-702)-(i.e. persons, whose food is prohibited) are mentioned. Lastly, the occasion, when the *tāmbula* is not to be partaken, are referred to (703-706).

Thus the chapter deals with rules to be followed, upto the mid-day i.e. upto lunch while regarding the remaining part of the day, the information is not available.

PRAKARAṆA VI

BHAKṢYĀBHAKṢYAM :

This chapter contains the rules regarding *bhakṣyābhakṣya* (the prescribed & prohibited articles and type of food).

Firstly, the articles of food, that are pure (*medhya*), are mentioned & then the causes of impurity of food are explained

(708-754). The herbs, vegetables, beasts, birds, animals, fish & other aquatic animals that are *bhakṣya* (allowed for eating) & *abhakṣya* (prohibited) are mentioned (755- 768).

The various intoxicants, forbidden for *Brāhmaṇas*, but allowed for *Kṣatriya* & *Vaiśya* are enumerated (769-771).

The miscellaneous rules, about not partaking food, are dealt with & the expiations are also mentioned, if a *Brāhmaṇa*, partakes the prohibited food (774-794).

Expiations are further mentioned, for drinking semon, wine, human milk etc. for curing diseases (795-802).

PRAKARAṆA VII

DEŚADHARMĀḤ KĀLADHARMĀŚCA :

The present chapter contains injunctions about practising the rituals & customs, prescribed or followed in a particular place (*deśa*) & period (*kāla*).

The customs & practices of a particular region should not be neglected or disregarded (809-814).

The rules to be followed in *Kali Age* are mentioned (815-818). The time, auspicious for bathing & giving gifts etc., on each *saṅkrānti* is prescribed (819-825). The general rules, for determining a *tithi* are dealt with (826-837). The general rules, about fasting are enjoined. The *vrātas* namely worship of cows, on the *pratipad* of the month of *Kārtika* (852-855), *Nāgapañcamī* (856-858), *Ekādaśī* (859-871) are treated.

Lastly, the rules to be observed, on the eclipses of the sun & the moon are prescribed (874-884).

Thus the treatment of vows (*vrātas*) or observances, as available in the present text is very scanty.

PRAKARAṆA VIII

DĀNAM :

The present chapter contains description of the nature of *dāna* & praise of various gifts.

Firstly, the attitude for giving gifts is praised (885-889).

Then the subject of *dāna* is dealt with in details, by explaining the various constituents of it. These constituents are-(1) two causes (*hetus*), (2) six grounds (*adhiṣṭhānas*), (3) six elements (*aṅgas*), (4) six effects, (*vipākas*), (5) four kinds (*prakāras*), (6) threefold division (*trividham*), (7) three destructive elements *triṇāśam* (890-930).

The articles that are not fit to be given to certain individuals are mentioned (931-933).

The eight kinds of *Brāhmaṇas*, who are fit for receiving gifts are defined (934-947). The gifts of cooked food (*annadāna*) (952-960), cow (961-970), bull (971-974), land (975-980), *viśvacakra* (988-993) are highly praised.

The sins, that are involved in the acceptance of gifts of *brahmāṇḍa* (1005), & *tulā* (1006- 1009) are mentioned. The expiation for accepting the gift of the *Mahābhūtaghaṭa* is prescribed (1010-1022). The elaborate procedure of re-initiation (*punaḥsaṁskāra*), which is necessary to be undergone by the *ācārya* (preceptor), who accepts the gifts of *tulā* etc., is dealt with (1023-1050).

PRAKARAṆA IX

DRAVYAŚUDDHIḤ :

This *prakaraṇa* deals with the subject of purification of substances.

Hence, the subject of purity & impurity (*medhyatva* & *amedhyatva*) is considered in detail, at the beginning. The fourfold classification of 'pure' (*Medhya*) objects, namely, *śuci*, *pūta*, *svayaṁśuddha* & *pavitra*, is explained elaborately (1052-1078). Similarly, the nature of impurity, is also clarified (1079-1086). The four varieties of impurity, namely, *dūṣita*, *varjita*, *duṣṭa* & *kaśmala* are enumerated & defined (1080-1086). The method of purification of earth, (*bhūmi*) (1088-1092), water (1093-1100), one's own body (1101-1120), the metallic objects & other things, in general like garments, wooden vessels, corn etc. is mentioned (1121-1140).

PRAKARAṆA X

ĀŚAUCAM :

The present chapter deals with the topic of impurity, due to birth or death to a person (*āśauca*).

Firstly, the days of impurity on birth & death of a person are laid down (1141-1167). Then the problematic cases of *sannipātāśauca* (1168-1174) (occurrence of another *āśauca*, already observing one *āśauca*), *atīkrāntāśauca* (knowledge of *āśauca*, after the lapse of its original period), (1175-1180), *Videśasthāśauca* (impurity to a person, staying in a distant region) (1181 & 1182) are dealt with.

PRKARAṆA XI

ANTYEṢṬIḤ :

The funeral rites to be performed on the death of a person, are treated in this chapter.

Several cases of inauspicious death (*durmarāṇa*) are mentioned (1183-1216). Then the rules about, (1) carrying the corpse, (1217-1226), (2) burning it on pyre (1227-1247), (3) collecting of charred bones, (1251 & 1252), (4) ritual of offering *piṇḍas* & (5) *śrāddhas* on various days (1253-1271) are dealt with.

The procedure of *nārāyaṇabali* is explained in detail. (1284-1299). Similarly, the rules to be followed during the days of *āśauca* & during the whole year after death are also prescribed (1301-1304).

PRAKARAṆA XII

ŚRĀDDHAM :

The chapter deals elaborately with the procedure of the performance of *śrāddha*.

The performance of *śrāddha* is emphasized by eulogizing it (1307-1319). Then the days (1321-1331) & places (1332-1333) of its performance are discussed. The *Brāhmaṇas* that are & are not fit to be invited are mentioned (1334-1383/1384-1392). Then the articles of food, that are prescribed & prohibited for

being offered, are described (1393-1400). The articles of food & meat of several animals (1401-1407) that satisfy the manes for different duration of time are noted. The rules to be observed by the performer & the invited *Brāhmaṇa* are laid down (1408-1435). The entire procedure of *śrāddha* is elaborately described (1436-1511). Some miscellaneous rules to be observed on the day of *śrāddha* are enjoined (1512-1529).

ADHYĀYA II

PRAKARAṆA I

RĀJADHARMĀḤ :

The duties of a king are mentioned in this chapter.

The king should always be ready to fight in the battle, for the protection of his subjects, even at the risk of his life (1531-1537). He should also try to check the intermixture of castes & employ the four *varṇas* in their respective duties (1538, 1539).

The treatment of *rājadharmas* is very brief.

PRAKARAṆA II

ĀTATĀYINĀḤ :

Here *ātatāyins* (desperados) are referred to in the three verses.

The *ātatāyin* (a person, who is assailing with a weapon in his hand), should always be killed, though he may be a *bhrūṇa* (a learned *Brāhmaṇa*) (1541). The person, committing suicide is also a kind of *ātatāyin*. There is no expiation of any kind in his case. He straight-way goes to hell only. (1540, 1542).

PRAKARAṆA III

STRĪPUMDHARMĀḤ :

The legal duties of husband & wife are treated in the present chapter.

The circumstances under which the earlier wife, can be

superseded, are mentioned (1544-1548). Similarly, the circumstances, under which the wife can abandon her husband & resort to someone else are dealt with (1549-1555). The topic of *adhivedana* (marrying an additional wife, after superseding the previous one), is once again discussed (1556-1562).

PRAKARAṆA IV

DĀYAVIBHĀGAḤ :

This chapter deals with the topic of the partition of property.

The time of partition is first pointed out (1563-1565). The rules regarding partition among several members of the family (1567- 1569) & the order of succession to property in case of a sonless person, are laid down (1570-1571). The persons, not entitled to get any share in the property are enumerated (1572-1574).

Then the several kinds of sons are enumerated (1575-1577) & their share in the property is discussed (1578-1596).

Lastly, the nature of *Strīdhana* & its devolution are dealt with (1598-1611).

Thus, this entire section of *Vyavahāra* contains the exposition only of the above topics of *Vyavahāra*. The description of several other remaining topics is untraceable.

ADHYĀYA III

PRAKARAṆA I

PRĀYAŚCITTAM :

This chapter deals with several great & small sins & their respective expiations.

Firstly, the five great sins are referred to & expiations for them are enjoined (1614-1649). The circumstances, when these sins are regarded as most serious offences (*tīvratama*⁰) are also pointed out (1617-1621). Then the minor sins *upapātakas* namely, *govadha*, *steya*, *agamyāgamana*,

adhītavismṛti, *apaṇyavikraya*, *sutānām vikraya*, *svakīyatyāga*, *cāṇḍālasamparka*, *avakīrṇī*, *śvādidamśa*, & other miscellaneous sins are described & the expiations, for them are also laid down (1650- 1812).

PRAKARAṆA II

MLECCHITAŚUDDHIḤ:

This chapter contains description of expiations, for purification of persons, kidnapped & troubled by *Mlecchas*.

The sages approached Devala, who was sitting at easte, on the bank of river, Sindhu & inquired about penances for the purification of the four *varṇas*, kidnapped by *Mlecchas* (1813-1815).

Then the sage Devala, elaborately directs several expiations for their purification. The nature of *prāyaścitta* depends upon the duration of time, spent in association with *Mleccha*. From the duration of association for one day upto 20 years, several rules for purification are laid down (1816-1858). Similarly, the expiations, for purification of ladies are also prescribed. (1859-1869). Then the rules about preparation of *pañcagavya* & other general rules about *prāyaścitta* are mentioned (1878-1885).

PRAKARAṆA III

ANUGRAHAPRĀYAŚCITTAM :

This chapter mentions the circumstances, when the concession in the prescribed expiation can be suggested.

The assembly of the learned *Brāhmaṇas* should dispassionately direct a particular penance (1885-1893). They should take into consideration the various circumstances like, caste, capacity, age, qualities, time, place, the nature of the sin committed etc., before prescribing an expiation. (1894-1907).

PRAKARAṆA IV

VRATĀNI :

This chapter contains the exposition of several purificatory penances like *cāndrāyaṇa* etc.

Firstly, several penances are enumerated (1908—1910). Then the *cāndrāyaṇa* & other penances-namely- *Prājāpatya*, *Taptakṛcchra*, *Parāka*, *Yāvaka*, *Sāntapana*, *Mahāsāntapana*, *Kāyakṛcchra*, *Atikṛcchra*, *Udumbara*, *Parṇa*, *Phala*, *Māheśvara*, *Brahma*, *Dhānya* & *Suvarṇa*-are elaborately described. The nature, varieties, procedure, & substitutes of most of them are explained (1917-2154).

PRAKARAṆA V

TĪRTHAYĀTRĀ :

This chapter mentions the several sacred places & rites to be performed there, while visiting them.

The great rivers, holi places on their banks, mountains & other sacred places are referred to (2156-2180). Then the various rules about rites to be practised on the sacred places are expatiated (2181- 2199).

PRAKARAṆA VI

NIḤŚREYASAM :

This chapter elucidates the nature of the second human goal (acc. to the author), namely, *Niḥśreyasa* of two kinds- *Sāṅkhya* & *Yoga*.

The two kinds of *Puruṣārthas* are referred to & the *Sāṅkhya* & *Yoga*, which constitute the second *Puruṣārtha* are defined (2200-2209). The tenets of *Sāṅkhya* philosophy are enumerated (2211-2237) & explained (2238-2363). The nature of three kinds of bodies (those of gods, human beings & lower beings) are vividly described (2264-2275). Then the bondage of three kinds is explained (2276- 2283). The twelve mental, six vocal & four bodily vices are enumerated, defined & explained in detail. (2284-2371).

Then the ways & means of elimination of these vices are pointed out (2372-2376). The nature of *tapas* is explained (2378-2394) & the various means of *Yoga*, namely *prāṇāyāma*, *pratyāhāra*, *dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna* etc. are properly defined & explained. (2395-2410). The ten obstacles in the practice of *Yoga*, are also mentioned (2411). The eight miraculous powers (2412-2437) & the nature of liberation, its varieties etc. are described (2440-2447). The signs of approaching death, in case of a *Yogin* are indicated (2448-2461).

Lastly, the final release & unity of *Yogin* with *Brahman* are described (2468-2475).

PARIŚIṢṬA DEVALOKTAM JYOTIṢAM :

Devala is believed to have written an extensive treatise (*Saṁhitā*) on *Jyotiṣaśāstra*. The quotations of Devala, dealing with the various topics on *Jyotiṣa*, available in the works on *Dharmaśāstra* & *Jyotiṣa* are here collected & arranged.

PRAKARAṆA I SĀMSKĀRĀḤ :

This chapter deals with some astrological matter, connected with the *Sāmskāras* (sacraments).

The customs of locality, should always be followed by an astrologer (1). There is emphasis upon, the performance of an act on a day, with the favourable position of moon etc. & various articles to be donated for averting the bad effects of unfavourable state of moon, star etc. are mentioned (2 & 3). The effects of inauspicious state of stars, namely *Aśvinī*, *Maghā* & *Mūla* are also pointed out (4-7). The periods, that are not favourable for marriage etc. are mentioned (8-14). The last verse (15) mentions the auspicious period for king's march (*Yātrā*).

PRAKARAṆA II

KṚṢIḤ :

The several astrological details, connected with agriculture are to be found here.

Firstly, the days & *rāsis*, that are favourable & unfavourable for agriculture are mentioned (16-19). Then the entire procedure of starting the agricultural work (20-23), ploughing (24-34) & sowing seeds (35) is elaborately described, with details alongwith their good & bad omens. Lastly, there is a prayer to the earth. (36-38).

PRAKARAṆA III

GRAHACĀRAḤ :

This chapter deals with the astronomical cum astrological information about the motion of various planets.

The motion of Mercury & the Roads of Venus are mentioned (39-44). The effect of conjunction of Jupiter & Saturn in the third, sixth, ninth, & twelfth signs-(namely-Gemini (*Mithuna*), Virgo (*Kanyā*), Sagittarius (*Dhana*) & pisces (*Mina*) is the terrific destruction of subjects (45). The dark *Rāhu* that conceals, the sun & the moon is referred to (46). The transit of *Ketus* of 108 kinds & their effects are dealt with in detail (47-68).

The effects of Twilight, Rainfall, & strong & weak lord of the year are mentioned (69-72).

PRAKARAṆA IV

ARIṢṬĀNI :

This chapter contains references to signs (omens & portends), that indicate approaching of death (73-81).

CHAPTER : V

THE DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE TEXT
(GENERAL)

INTRODUCTORY :

In this & the next chapter, an attempt is made to study the text, from various standpoints, with a view to enlightening the distinctive features, reflected in it. The treatment would be somewhat critical & comparative.

The present chapter, contains the study of the text, from the following points of view, that constitute the *abhudaya* aspect (wordly prosperity) of the twofold *puruṣārtha*, mentioned by Devala (2201-2202).

A. THE DISTINCTIVE RELIGIOUS FEATURES.

- A.1 The Distinctive Religious Features (general order).
- A.2 The Distinctive Sacramental Features Part I.
- A.2 The Distinctive Sacramental Features Part II.
- A.2 The Distinctive Sacramental Features Part III.
- A.3 The Distinctive Ritualistic Features.
- A.4 The Distinctive Expiatory Features.

B. THE DISTINCTIVE SOCIAL FEATURES.

C. THE DISTINCTIVE LEGAL FEATURES.

The next chapter would contain the distinctive philosophical features of the text. These are separately studied, as they constitute the *niḥśreyasa* aspect (spiritual prosperity) of the *puruṣārtha*.

A. THE DISTINCTIVE RELIGIOUS FEATURES

- A.1 The Distinctive Religious Features (General Order)

I. DHARMA

1. CONSTITUENTS OF DHARMA :

According to Devala, the ten virtues, namely, (1) *śauca* (purity), (2) *dāna* (gift), (3) *tapas* (austerity), (4) *śraddhā* (faith), (5) *gurusevā* (serving the venerable), (6) *kṣamā* (endurance), (7) *dayā* (compassion), (8) *vijñāna* (knowledge), (9) *vinaya* (decorum), & (10) *satya* (truth) are the constituents of *Dharma*(7).

Manu (6.92)¹ also mentions ten virtues that characterize *Dharma*. Only the four of them (namely, *śauca*, *kṣamā*, *vijñāna* or *vidyā* (acc. to Manu) & *Satya*) are common between the two, while other virtues, mentioned by them are different. The other *Smṛtikāras*, like² Yājñavalkya (1.122), Bṛhaspati (Saṁ, 489), Viṣṇu (II/16-17), etc. also enumerate some virtues as *sāmānyadharmas* (*dharma*s common to all). Gautama (1/8/23-24) & Atri³ (33- 41) also refer to eight virtues. The six virtues (namely-(1) *śauca*, (2) *dāna*, (6) *kṣamā* (7) *dayā*, (8) *vijñāna*, & (10) *satya*), mentioned by Devala are also found in the Yājñavalkya *smṛti* & the five except *vijñāna* in the Viṣṇu *smṛti*. While only three virtues (namely, *śauca*, *kṣamā* & *dayā*) are common with Bṛhaspati, Gautama and Atri (Atri mentions *dāna* & omits *kṣamā*). The other virtues, mentioned by these *Smṛtis* are different. The two virtues, (*tapas* & *śraddhā*) mentioned by Devala are not found in the enumeration of virtues of the above *Smṛtikāras*. While the mention of *gurusevā* (serving the venerable), is found only in the Viṣṇu *smṛti* & the present text. Though this topic of *gurusevā* is treated by Manu etc. in their *Smṛtis*, they do not mention it, like Devala & Viṣṇu, while enumerating the virtues, in the above verses. 'Vinaya' alluded to by Devala, is generally referred to by words 'dama' & *indriyanigraha* in the other *Smṛtis*.

Though the virtues are mentioned by most of the *Smṛtis*, Devala alone describes them as *Dharmasamuccayaḥ* (the constituents of *Dharma*), elsewhere they are generally mentioned as '*sāmānyadharma*' (the *Dharma*s that are common to all). The comparative study, treated previously indicates that Devala's enumeration of virtues is somewhat near to that of Manu, Yājñavalkya & Viṣṇu. It is also noteworthy that Devala

enumerates & also explains most of the virtues (8 to 49). Devala's views about *dāna* & *śauca*, can be understood from his treatment of these topics, in the *dāna* & *dravyasuddhi* chapters respectively. The explanation of the word 'satya' only is not available.

2. THE QUINTESSENCE OF DHARMA :

In a single verse (50), Devala declares the quintessence of *Dharma* that whatever is adverse to oneself, should not be performed in case of others. In other words, one should not be harmful or troublesome to others. Similar views about moral behaviour are found in other *Smṛtis* & in the *Mahābhārata*⁴. The peculiarity of Devala is that he designates this rule as 'the *Dharmasarvasva*' (the quintessence of *Dharma*).

The present verse is a very famous one. It is found verbatim as a quotation from 'smṛti' in the *Pañcatantra*⁵. The *Pañcatantra* is an old work, that had become famous even during the 6th century A.D.⁶. The present verse, to be so much popular even during the period of the *Pāncatantra*, must be of a date, quite earlier than it. This fact reflects upon the antiquity of the present verse & the work of Devala, from which probably the *Pañcatantra* might have borrowed this verse.

3. SOURCES OF DHARMA :

The sources of *Dharma* are the *Vedas*, *Vedāṅgas*, *Smṛtis* & *Itihāsas* according to Devala (1 to 6). The *Vedas* are the most ancient authorities on *Dharma*. The *Vedāṅgas* are also mentioned, as they are helpful in understanding the *Veda*. Gautama (II/2/19) & Yājñavalkya (1.3)⁷ explicitly mention *Vedāṅgas* like Devala, among the sources of *Dharma*. The *Itihāsas*, mentioned among the sources of *Dharma* by Devala are not generally enumerated likewise in the other *Smṛtis*. The term *Veda* & *Vedāṅgas* are properly defined, but the term '*Itihāsa*' is not explained likewise as referring to some distinct works. It is interpreted as referring to "those works, composed by sages, narrating ancient incidents, leading to the right knowledge"(6).

The term *Itihāsa* is a very ancient one, occurring even in the *Atharvaveda*, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, the *Chândogya* & the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads* etc.⁸ But the term referred to in these ancient works has reference to ancient narratives, occurring in the *Brāhmaṇas*. Kauṭilya's explanation of the term⁹, indicates his knowledge of the 'definite work', 'more or less very like the extant *Mahābhārata*'¹⁰. The *Asvalāyana G.S.* (III.4.4) distinctly refers to the *Bhārata* & the *Mahābhārata*¹¹ & the *Kauṣītaka G.S.* (II. 5.3) only to the *Mahābhārata*. The mention of *Itihāsa* & *Purāṇa* in the *Yājñavalkya smṛti*¹² (I. 101) has reference to the "works distinct from Vedic literature"¹³. Thus the term *Itihāsa* is understood to be referring to the *Mahābhārata*, from very early period. But Devala does not explicitly mention the *Mahābhārata* here, while explaining the term '*Itihāsa*'.

The word '*Itihāsa*' is used in plural by the author. Hence it does not stand for a single work like the *Mahābhārata*. It cannot be understood as referring to the epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* & the *Mahābhārata*, as the term *Itihāsa* is not in dual form. Moreover, the *Rāmāyaṇa* has been traditionally admitted to be the best piece of *kāvya* & not as an *Itihāsa*.

Hence, Devala refers most probably to the various legendary, historical narratives & stories, frequently occurring in the *Mahābhārata* & the *Purāṇas*, with the phrase -

"*Athāpyudāharantīmam itihāsam purāṇanam*"

4. THE QUALIFICATION FOR DHARMA :

DEVALA'S VIEW :

The author maintains that there is no instruction of *puruṣārtha*, in case of lower beings; as they are bereft of *Dharma*. There is twofold *puruṣārtha*, namely *abhyudaya* (wordly prosperity) & *niḥśreyasa* (spiritual uplift), in case of gods & human beings. (2200-2202).

IMPLICATIONS :

The words of Devala reflect upon his views, about the question of qualification for *Dharma*. The lower beings, (animals, beasts, birds etc.) are not qualified for *Dharma*. But Gods & human beings are entitled to the same. Hence there is instruction of the two-fold *puruṣārtha* only to them.

LOWER BEINGS, NOT QUALIFIED :

The author explicitly mentions that animals are bereft of *Dharma*. In fact, the human beings have impulses for food, sleep, fear & dalliance, that are also found in lower beings. But it is the *Dharma*, that distinguishes them from beasts¹⁴. The lower beings, also follow instinctively the physical laws (*Dharmas*), without disturbing the natural order, but they do not possess the knowledge of *Dharma*.

From the traditional standpoint, the lower beings are incapable for understanding & practising *Dharma*. It is based upon Vedic or scriptural authority (*Veda* or *śabdaprāmānya*). The animals do not get any knowledge, from scriptural authority, due to incapability. They have only perceptual & inferential knowledge. On the contrary, human beings, right from the childhood, have to depend upon the words of an authoritative person for knowledge.

Hence, as the human beings are capable of understanding & practising *Dharma*, prescribed in the *Veda*, they are entitled to it.

GODS ALSO ARE QUALIFIED :

Like human beings, Gods also are qualified for the *Dharma*, constituting the twofold *puruṣārtha*. Śabarāsvāmī (on Mm.S. 6.1.4. 6.1.5) & Karkācārya (on *Kāt. S.S. 1.1.4*)¹⁵ maintain that only human beings are qualified for *Dharma*. Gods are not at all entitled to the practice of it. Thus these commentators are opposed to the above view of Devala. While Pārthasārathī Mīśra¹⁶ believes like Devala, in the eligibility of Gods for *Dharma*.

The question of qualification of Gods for the *brahmavidyā*

(spiritual knowledge) is thoroughly discussed in the *Brahmasūtras*¹⁷. The view of Jaimini is that Gods are not entitled for it. But Bādarāyaṇa & even the commentator Śaṅkarācārya accept the eligibility of Gods for spiritual knowledge. It is remarkable that Devala also maintains the view of Gods, being qualified for the second *puruṣārtha*, namely *niḥśreyasa*.

5. GRHYAKĀRAS FOLLOW DHARMAŚĀSRAKĀRAS :

Manu & others are promulgators of *Dharmaśāstra* & whatever *Dharma*, they have declared, is prescribed also by the *Grhyasūtrakāras*, in conformity with the *Mantras* of their recensions, according to Devala (3).

Devala, here represents the view that the *Dharma*, prescribed by the *Dharmaśāstrakāras*, is followed by the *Grhyasūtrakāras*, with the prescription of the *Mantras* of their recension. Thus according to Devala, *Grhyasūtras* follow the dictates of *Dharmaśāstra*.

The *śrauta*, *Grhya* and *Dharmasūtras* are the three main divisions of the *Kalpa*. "In the corpus of the *Kalpasūtras*, the *Dharmasūtras* as a rule follow the *Grhyasūtras*" states Dr. Ram Gopal¹⁸. The *Dharmaśāstras*, those of Manu etc. are historically of later period than the *Grhyasūtras*. Hence Devala's opinion may be explained as referring to some ancient works of the *Dharmasūtras* of Manu etc., the rules, contained in which, might be re-enjoined by the *Grhyasūtras*, in accordance with the *Mantras* of their recension. But on the whole, the statement of Devala, seems to be somewhat curious.

II-GURU :**MALE & FEMALE MEMBERS, WORTHY OF RESPECT, AS 'GURU' :**

Generally, father, mother & preceptor, these three are understood to be the most venerable persons and are called as 'guru'. All elderly persons are also honourable, but Devala especially describes eleven elderly male persons & eight female persons to be respectable as 'guru'. (1) Preceptor, (2) father, (3) the eldest brother, (4) king, (5) maternal uncle, (6)

father-in-law, (7) protector, (8) mother's father & (9) grandfather, (10) the eldest among the castes (the *Brāhmaṇa*) & (II) uncle-these are the eleven male persons, who are designated as 'guru'. While- (1) mother, (2) mother's mother, (3) wife of the preceptor, (4) sister of father & (5) that of mother, (6) mother-in-law (7) grandmother, (8) the eldest foster mother, these eight female members are also enumerated as 'guru' (10-11).

Later on, the author, further adds that father, mother, preceptor, the elder brother & sustainer (*bhartā*-king, master or husband) are also *gurus* i.e. worthy of respect. The first three among them are more venerable, while the mother is the most honourable among them. (18 to 20). Like Devala, the *Mahābhārata*¹⁹ (*Vana*. 214. 27) also mentions five *gurus*. However, they are father, mother, fire, self & preceptor.

Thus the treatment of the above topic also displays the peculiarity of Devala. A similar kind of exposition in almost identical words is also to be found in the *Auśanasa smṛti* (1.26 to 42) & the *Kūrma Purāṇa* (12/20 to 42). But it is difficult to decide, who is the borrower. All of them might have taken from a third common source or from the floating material.

REFERENCES

1. *Dhṛtiḥ kṣamā damo'steyam śaucamindriyanigrahaḥ/ Dhīrvidyā satyama-krodho daśakam Dharmalakṣaṇam//*
■ *Manu. S. 6/92*
Ahiṁsā satyamasteyam śaucamindriyanigrahaḥ/ Etam sāmāsikam dharmam cātvarṇye 'bravīmanuḥ//
■ *Manu. S. XI/63*
2. *Ahiṁsā satyamasteyam śaucamindriyanigrahaḥ/ Dānam dayā damaḥ kṣāntiḥ sarveṣām dharmasāadhanam//*
■ *Yaj.S. I/122*
Satyamasteyamakrodho hrīḥ śaucam dhīrdhṛtirdamaḥ/ Saṁyatendriyatā vidyā dharmah sārva udāhṛtaḥ//
■ *Yaj.S. III/66*

Dayā kṣamā'nusūyā ca śaucānāyāsamaṅgalam/ Akārpaṇyamasprhatvam sarvasādhāraṇāni tull

■ *B.S. Sam. 489*

Kṣamā satyam damaḥ śaucam dānamindriy- asarīyamaḥ/ahiṁsā guruśuśrūṣā tīrthānusaraṇam dayā// Ārjavatavamalobhaśca devabrāhmaṇapūjanam/ anabhyasūyā ca tathā dharmah sāmānya ucyate//

■ *Vsn.S.III/16-17*

3. *Athāṣṭāvātmaṅgalaḥ/Dayā sarvabhūteṣu Kṣāntir- anasūyā śaucamanāyāso maṅgalamakārpaṇ- yamasprhetil//*

■ *GDS. II/8/23-24*

Saucamaṅgalanāyāsa anasūyā'sprhā damaḥ/ Lakṣaṇāni ca viprasya tathā dānam dayā'pi ca//

■ *Arti.S. 33*

(*Atri.S* verses 34-41 explain the above virtues)

4. *Nāśramaḥ kāraṇam dharme kriyamāṇo bhaveddhi saḥ/ ato yadātmano' pathyam parasya na tadācareti//*

■ *Yaj.S. III. 65*

Yathāivātmā parastadvad draṣṭvayaḥ sukhamicchatā/ sukhaduḥkhāni tulyāni yathātmani tathā pare//

■ *Dakṣa.S. III. 20*

Mātrvat paradārāmśca paradavyāni loṣṭhavaṭlātmavat/ sarvabhūtāni yaḥ paśyati sa paśyati//

■ *Ap.S. X.11*

Yadanyairvihitam necchedātmanaḥ karma pūruṣaḥ/ na tatpareṣu kurvīta jānannapriyamātmanaḥ//

■ *Mbh. Śānti. 259.20 (Cr. ed. 12/251/19)*

Sarvam priyābhyupagatam dharmam prāhurmanīṣiṇaḥ/

■ *Mbh. Śānti. 259. 25 (Cr. ed.12/251/24)*

Na tatparasya sandadhyāt pratikūlam yadātmanaḥ/ eṣa saṅksepato dharmah kāmādanyaḥ pravartate// pratyākhyāne ca dāne ca sukhaduḥkhe priyāpriye/ ātmaupamyena puruṣaḥ pramāṇamadhigacchati//

■ *Mbh. Anu. 113. 8-9 (Cr. ed. 13/114/8-9)*

5. *Çatakamārjāryoh-Pañcatantra*, 3.3
6. Prof. Winternitz-Hist. of Indian Literature, Trans. By Subhadra Jha, Vol. III, Part I, p. 348.
7. *Tasya ca vyavahāro vedo dharmasāsrāṇyaṅ-gānyupavedāḥ purāṇam*
■ G.D.S. III/2/19
*Purāṇanyāyamīmāṃsādharmasāstrāṅgamiśritāḥ/
vedāḥ sthānāni Vidyānām Dharmasya ca caturdaśa//*
■ Yāj. S.I.3
8. Mm.P.V. Kane-H.D.S., Vol. V, Pt. II, pp. 816-817.
Mm. P.V. Kane-H.D.S., Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 408-409.
9. *Purāṇamitivṛttamākhyāyikodāharaṇam dharmasāstramarthaśāstram cetitihāsaḥ/*
■ Arth.S. I.5.14.
10. Mm.P.V. Kane-H.D.S., Vol. V., pt. II, p. 819.
11. *Pailasūtrabhāṣyabhāratamahābhāratadharmācāryā.....*
■ Asva. G.S. III. 4.4. Kau.G.S. II.5.3 is similar, but omits 'Bhārata'
12. *Vedātharvapurāṇāni setihāsāni śaktitah/
japayajñaprasiddhyartham vidyām cādhyātmikīm
japet//*
■ Yāj. S.I. 101.
13. Mm. P.V. Kane, H.D.S., Vol. V, Pt. II, p. 820.
14. *Āhāranidrābhayamaithunam ca sāmānyametat-
paṣubhirnarāṇām/dharmo hi teṣāmadhiko viśeṣaḥ
dharmaṇa hīnāḥ paṣubhiḥ samānāḥ//*
15. *Phalārthatvāt karmaṇaḥ śāstram sarvādhikāram syāt/
karturvā śrūtisaṃyogāt vidhiḥ kārtsnyena gamyate//*
■ MM.S. 6/1.4-5
*Na caitadasti.....tiryagādīnāmapi adhikāraḥ.....
iti.....na devānām, devatāntarābhāvāt!..... na ṛṣīṇām
ārṣeyāntarābhāvāt//*
■ Śābaraswāmī on MM.S. 6/1/5
Sarveṣāmaviśeṣāt/manuṣyāṇām vā'rambhasāmarthyāt//

- Kāt.S.S.1/1/3- 4,
.....*Na sarveṣāmadhikāro, manuṣyā eva karmasvad-
hikriyante/Ta eva hi yathāśrutam karmārabdhum
samarthā, na devādayaḥ/Devāstāvadāptakāmāḥ/Na ca
teṣāmaptyavyamasti, yadyāgādibhiravāpyate/Na ca
devādīnāmānye devāḥ santi yān yajeraṇ/Ṛṣīṇāmārṣeyābh-
āvādanadhikāraḥ/Rakṣaḥpiśācānāmasucitvāt/Gavā
dīnamāsannacetanatvāt/Vidyāśūnyatvācca!....Tasmā-
nmanuṣyāṇāmevādhikāraḥ//Karkabhāṣya on*
■ Kāt.S.S.1/1/4.
16. Editor's footnote, *Śābarabhāṣya on Mm. S.6/1/5. Cf.
also Prof. Jha, Ganganath- Pūrvamīmāṃsā in its
Sources*, p. 307.
17. *Madhvādiṣvasambhavādanadhikāram Jaiminiḥ/Bh.S.
1/3/31.
Taduparyapi Bādarāyaṇaḥ Sambhavāt!—Bh.S. 1/3/26.
Bhāvam tu Bādarāyaṇo'sti hi!—Bh.S. 1/3/33.
Upapanno devādīnāmapi brahmavidyāyāmadhikāraḥ/
■ Bh.S.S. 1/3.33.*
18. Dr. Ram Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasūtras*, p.7.
19. *Pañcaite guravo brahman puruṣasya bubhūṣataḥ/
Pitā mātāgnirātmā ca guruśca dvijasattamaḥ//*
■ Mbh. Vana. 214/27 (Cr. ed. 3/204/26)

A-2 THE DISTINCTIVE SACRAMENTAL FEATURES

PART-I

1. IMPORTANCE OF SAṂSKĀRAS :

The text contains a fine simile, emphasising the importance of the *saṁskāras* (329). Just as a work of painting is gradually unfolded by the various colours, used for its painting, the status of a *brāhmaṇa* is also similarly brought out or manifested by the numerous *saṁskāras*, performed in the prescribed manner (329). One verse of Parāśara (VIII.26) is identical with the above verse of Devala. The term '*brāhmaṇya*' may be taken as an illustration or it might have been used to emphasise the importance of *saṁskāras*, in case of *brāhmaṇa*, who is the spiritual teacher & promulgator of *Dharma* for all *varṇas*.

2. FOURTH NIGHT ALLOWED FOR COHABITATION :

There is difference of opinion, regarding the fourth night after menstrual flow, to be allowed for cohabitation (*garbhādhāna*). Manu (3.47)¹ and Yājñavalkya (1.79) explicitly prohibit the first four nights after menstrual flow for conception. The *Laghu-Āśvalāyana Smṛti* (III.I)² also enjoins it to be performed only after the fourth day. But Devala like *Āpastamba G.S.* (III.IX.I), Hārīta (quoted in *S.C.*, I.p. 15)³ explicitly allows the fourth night for conception (*garbhādhāna*) (332/345).

The above peculiar view of Devala is quoted by Reṇukācārya in his dated work, namely, *Pāraskaragṛhyakārikā* (an unpublished work, Manuscript of which is available in the Oriental Institute of Baroda, Acc. No. 12092) of 1266 A.D. This fact, indicates not only the authenticity of the text, but also antiquity of the verses of Devala to the period of the said work. Thus the verses, even from the *Prāyaścitta* section of Hemādri must be presumed to be earlier than 12th century A.D.

3. GARBHĀDHĀNA & ŚIMANTONNAYANA SACRAMENTS : TO BE PERFORMED ONLY ONCE & NOT AT EACH CONCEPTION :

There are two views, regarding the performance of the *garbhādhāna* sacrament. Some regard⁴ it to be the sacrament of the child to be born & hence it is to be repeated at each conception. While others⁵ maintain it to be the sacrament of the lady. It is, therefore, not to be repeated at each conception when it is once performed, it will sanctify all the subsequent children to be born.

Dr. Raj Bali Pandey, rightly observes, "logically speaking, the *garbhādhāna* was a *garbhasaṁskāra* in the beginning & the second school represents the tendency of simplifying & omitting the *saṁskāras* & certainly is of a later origin⁶".

And Devala believes in the second view, that *garbhādhāna* is not to be repeated at each conception, but it is to be performed only once at the first occasion. (336, 337). The portion of the present text, representing this view is definitely later than the *sūtra* period. But it is noteworthy that the latter view, represented by Devala, has become very popular in the subsequent period & even some *Nibandhas* like the *S.C.*, the *S.T.* etc. follow the same view.

The same problem, as discussed previously arises in case of the *śimantonnayana* sacrament. "Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Bhāradvāja & Pāraskara expressly say that this *saṁskāra* is to be performed only once at the first conception"⁷. Most of the commentators & digest-writers follow the same view. Devala (351) also definitely maintains this view. But there is a tradition, represented by *Viṣṇu*⁸, that some hold it to be the sacrament of the *garbha* (the child to be born) & should be repeated at each conception.

4. POLYGAMY-WHICH WIFE IS TO BE APPROACHED FIRST ?

The polygamy was quite common in ancient India & was prevalent during the period of the present text. When there are many wives, the question naturally arises about the priority

or preference to be given to a wife for cohabitation. Devala (347) represents three alternatives here. (1) that the wives should be approached, according to the caste-status; or (2) the wife, without any male issue is to be given preference or (3) the preference should be given in accordance with their seniority-the order of their marriage. Kauṭilya⁹ (3.2.54) also has considered this point. He mentions two alternatives. Like Devala, he also mentions the order of marriage, as one of the options. While he refers to another option of giving preference to the wife, having a son. But this is quite opposed to Devala's mention of giving priority to the sonless wife.

5. DESCRIPTION OF KARṆAVEDHA :

The *Karṇavedha* sacrament is "omitted in almost all ancient *Smṛtis*"¹⁰ However, it is referred to in the *Kauṣītaka G.S.* (1.20), the *Kātyāyana G.S.* (Interpolated portion) (II.2), the *Baudhāyana G. Śeṣa S.* (1.12), the *Vedavyāsasmṛti* (1.14), the *Bṛhaspati smṛti* (reconstructed Sañ. 86-101) etc.

The present text contains the verses, (372, 373) emphasizing the importance or necessity of the piercing the lobes of ears (*karṇavedha*). All merits, accumulated previously, disappear on seeing a *brāhmaṇa*, through whose holes of ears, the rays of the sun do not pass. He should not be invited for the *śrāddha* ceremony. If one invites him, that *śrāddha* becomes *āsura*-demonish. Thus the *brāhmaṇa*, whose earlobes were not pierced, was regarded as the most unauspicious & sinful. He was also not given proper honour due to his status as a *brāhmaṇa*. Thus the *Karṇavedha* had become an indispensable or compulsory ceremony, during the period of the present text.

6. VIDYĀRAMBHA OR AKṢARASVĪKARĀṆA :

The sacrament of *Vidyārambha* (commencement of learning) or *Akṣarasvīkarāṇa* (learning of alphabet), is not generally treated in the *Gṛhya-sūtras*, *Dharmasūtraas* & the early *Smṛtis*¹¹. It is referred¹² to in the *Bṛhaspati smṛti* (Reconstructed) & the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. Mm.P.V. Kane remarks, "It appears that from the early centuries of the Christian Era, a ceremony called,

Vidyārambha (commencement of learning alphabet) was celebrated"¹³.

The present reconstructed text also contains a verse that deals with this ceremony (377). According to Devala, this sacrament is to be performed in the fifth year of the child, when the sun is in the Northern Hemisphere. The goddess Sarasvatī & Gods, Viṣṇu & Vināyaka should be properly worshipped with the offering of *guḍa* (molasses), *Odana* (cooked rice) etc.

7. VEDAVRATAS :

Gautama (8)¹⁴ refers to four *Vedavratas*, while enumerating the forty sacraments. Similarly, these are also counted among the forty-eight sacraments¹⁵, referred to by Śaṅkarācārya (*Bh.S.S.* III.4.34). Some *Gṛhyasūtras* and the *Laghu-Āśvalāyana Smṛti* there is mention of the *Vedavratas*, but they vary with regard to the number & names of these *vratas*. Their names mentioned in the above works are as follows¹⁶.

1. *Mānava G.S.*—*Cāturhautrika*, *Āgnikī*, *Āsvamedhikī*, *Traividya*.
2. *Kāṭhaka G.S.*—*Traividya*, *Cāturhautrika*, *Godāna*, *Aṣṭācatvāriṃsatsammita*.
3. *Śāṅkhā G.S.*—*Śukriya*, *Śākvara*, *Vrātika*, *Aupanīśada*.
4. *Khādīra G.S.*—*Godānika*, *Vrātika*, *Āditya*, *Aupanīśada*, *Jyeṣṭhasāmika*.
5. *Gobhila G.S.*
—*Godānika*, *Vrātika*, *Āditya*, *Aupanīśada*, *Jyeṣṭhasāmika*.
6. *Baudhā G.S.*—*Hotāraḥ*, *Śukriyaḥ*, *Aupanīśadaḥ*, *Godānam*, *Sammitam*.
7. *Laghu-Āśvalāyana smṛti*—*Mahānāmnivrata*, *Mahāvratā*, *Upanīśadvrata*.

The four *Vedavratas* mentioned by Devala (388-392) are different. They are—*Prājāpatya*, *Saumya*, *Āgneya* & *Vaiśvadevaka*.

8. THE MARRIAGE SACRAMENT :

THE SONLESS DOES NOT GO TO HELL :

The sonless person may be afraid of falling into Hell, on

account of various declarations to that effect, in the *Smṛtis*. But, Devala seems to suggest that they should not be so frightened, if they have only daughters & no son. Neither the father nor the mother, giving birth to female offsprings goes to hell, if he or she properly brings up their daughters & give them in marriage to some appropriate persons (395).

THE FOUR KINDS OF MARRIAGEABLE GIRLS :

The four kinds of marriageable girls are mentioned in the text (408-412). The girls from seven years upto the time of puberty are called *nagnikās* & are considered most suitable for marriages. The girls between these years are designated by four different names-viz. (1) *Śaiṣavī* of 7 years, (2) *Gaurī* of 8 years, (3) *Rohiṇī* of nine years, (4) *Gāndhārī* from 10 upto puberty.

This reflects upon the fact that Devala, like Manu¹⁷, Yājñavalkya, Pārāśara etc. advocates pre-puberty marriages. During the period of ancient *Grhya* & *Dharmasūtras*, "girls were married just before the time of puberty or immediately after it"¹⁸ & that "from about 600 B.C. to about the beginning of the Christian Era, it did not matter at all if a girl was married a few months or a few years after puberty. But by about 200 A.D. (when the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* was composed) popular feeling had become insistent on pre-puberty marriages"¹⁹. The above verses of Devala are definitely later than the period of the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, when the pre-puberty marriages became prevalent.

AGE OF THE BRIDEGROOM :

The pre-puberty period is advocated by the author as the age for the bride, but great age-difference was prescribed to be maintained between the bride & the bridegroom (409-410). For *Śaiṣavī* bride of 7 years, the bridegroom was to be 18 years & for *gaurī* of 8 years, he was to be of 25 years. From this, it follows that in case of *Rohiṇī* & *Gāndhārī* types of brides also, the bridegroom must be of higher age, as considered from the above two cases. The *Manusmṛti*²⁰ (IX. 94) also

enjoins a similar rule that the bridegroom of 30 years & 24 years should marry brides of 12 & 8 years respectively.

THE QUALIFICATIONS OF THE BRIDE :

According to Devala (408) the five qualifications of the bride were to be considered & given importance for marriage. They are (1) *Kula*-family, (2) *Śīla*-character, (3) *Vaya*-age, (4) *Vṛtta*-Conduct, (5) *Rūpa*-beauty. The beauty is mentioned at the end & hence it is only a last qualification to be considered. Learning or education is not at all mentioned here by the author. This reflects upon the fact, that girls were mostly illiterate & education was not given much importance in case of women. This also shows the attitude of the author towards education as a qualification for marriage. The *Bhāradvāja G.S.*²¹ (I.II) also mentions four qualifications namely-wealth, beauty, intellect & family. The *Smṛtis* like those of Manu, Yājñavalkya, etc. also dilate upon the external signs of beauty.

It may be remarked that Devala's enumeration of qualifications of the bride is the most ideal & perfect one and may be added with *vidyā* or education, to modernize it.

SĀPIṆḌYA :

The general rule about *sāpiṇḍya* (common ancestorship) is that-it does not remain after the fifth degree on the mother's side & the seventh degree on the father's side; But Devala (416-417) also introduces an alternative or option. If a girl of the proximate relation is to be married, she should at least be beyond three degrees from the father's & mother's side. This view of Devala is remarkable.

RELIGIOUS CEREMONY, NECESSARY FOR ALL FORMS OF MARRIAGES :

The eight forms of marriages are described in the text. In the latter forms of marriages (i.e. in the *gāndharva*, *āsura*, *rākṣasa* & *paśāca*), there is prior acceptance or kidnapping of the bride. But the marriage ceremony should be performed

afterwards, in the presence of fire, in case of persons, belonging to the three *varṇas*. (407). As long as the marriage ceremony is not performed in the presence of fire, the marriage is not considered valid & irrevocable. Thus the sacrament of marriage, was considered quite necessary & even compulsory, in every form of it, in the society.

The above injunction of Devala also reflects upon another fact. The latter forms of the marriages were also prevalent in the society, but the marriage sacraments might not be performed intentionally by some. Hence there was necessity of explicit declaration that the marriage sacraments were compulsory for legalizing all forms of the marriages.

9. HALAPRAVARTANAM-PLOUGHING :

The *Gṛhyasūtras*²² like *Pāraskara*, *Kauśika*, *Āśvalāyana*, *Śāṅkhāyana*, *Kauṣītaka* etc. deal with the topic of *halapra-
vartanam* or ceremonies of ploughing. The *Parāśara*²³ & *Bṛhat-parāśara Smṛtis* also refer to some such rites, related with agriculture. The present text also contains (458-468) the description of the rite of yoking the plough, which is a sacrament specially connected with *vaiśya* & farming.

REFERENCES

1. *Tāsāmādyāścatastrastu ninditaikādaśi ca yā*
■ *Manu.S. (III.47).*
Brahmacaryaiva parvaṇyādyāścatastrastu varjayet
■ *Yāj.S.(1.79.).*
2. *Garbhādhānam dvijaḥ kuryādṛtau prathama Eva
hilcaturthadivasādūrdhvam pūtrārthi divase samell*
■ *L. Asv.S. (III.1).*
3. *Caturthiprabhṛtyā sodaśimuttarāmuttarām.....*
■ *Ap. G.S. (III. 9.1).*
Caturhe'hni snātāyām yugmāsu ceti
■ *Hārīta in S.C.I, p. 15.*

4. *Niṣekādīśmaśānānto mantrairasyodito vidhiḥ*
■ *Manu.S. (II.16a)*
Niṣekādīśmaśānāntāsteṣām vai mantrataḥ kriyāḥ
Yāj.S.(1.10)
*Garbhādhānapuṁsavana....etyete catvāriṁśat
saṁskārāḥ*
■ *G.D.S. (1/8/14-22)*
5. *L. Asv.S. (III.1)—Cf. No. 2 above. RT-Sr.No.
336-337.*
6. *Hindu Saṁskāras—Ch.V, p. 94.*
7. *Mm. Kane, P.V.—H.D.S., Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 226.*
8. *Śimantonayanam karma tatstrīsaṁkāra iṣyatel
kecidgarbhasya saṁskāro garbham garbham
prayujyatel*
■ *Viṣṇu. quot. in S.C., I, p. 17.*
*Śimantonayanam karma na strīsaṁkāra iṣyatel
garbhasyaiva tu saṁskāro garbhe garbhe prayojayet*
■ *Laghu, Vsn.S. (Ānand.) (1.10)*
9. *Tīrthasamavāye cāsām yathāvivāham pūrvodhām
jīvatputrām vā pūrvam gacchet*
■ *Arths.S.(3/2/54).*
10. *Mm. Kane, P.V.-H.D.S., Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 196.*
11. *Dr. Pandey, Raj Bali-Hindu Saṁskāras, pp. 179-180.*
12. *B.S. (Sam.) 230-258.*
Mārkaṇḍeya-quot. in S.C., I, p. 26.
13. *H.D.S., Vol. II, pt. I, p. 266.*
14. *Catvāri vedavratāni—G.D.S. (1/8/15).*
15. *Cf. The Sacramental Features, Pt. III-2.*
16. *Cf. Ram Goptal—India of Vedic Kalpasūtras, p. 307, &
Mm. Kane, P.V., H.D.S., Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 370-375.*
17. *Trīṁśadvārṣodvāhet kanyām hṛdyām dvādaśavārṣikīm
tryaṣṭavarṣoṣṭavarṣām vā'dharme sīdati satvaraḥ*
■ *Manu.S. (IX.94).*

*Aprayacchan samāptoti bhrūṇahatyāmṛtāvṛtau/
gamyantyabhāve dātṛṇām kanyā kuryāt svayamvaram//*

■ Yāj.S. (1/64)

*Mātā caiva pitā caiva jyeṣṭho bhrātā tathaiva ca/
trayaste narakam yānti dṛṣṭvā kanyām rajasvalām//*

■ Parāśara S. (VIII/6-9)

18. Mm. Kane, P.V.—*H.D.S.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 440.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 443.

20. Cf. Note 17 above.

21. *Catvāri Vivāhakaraṇāni vittam rūpam
prajñābāndhavamiti/*

■ B.G.S. (1/11)

22. Dr. Ram Gopal—*India of Vedic Kalpasūtras*, pp. 425-427.

23. *Parāśara S. (II)*, *Bṛhatparāśara S. (V)*.

A-2. THE DISTINCTIVE SACRAMENTAL FEATURES

PART-II

THE FUNERAL CUSTOMS & RITES :

I. ĀŚAUKA :

1) SRĀVĀŚAUKA :

The general & simple rule about *srāvāśauka* is prescribed in the text. (1144). The impurity is for the days, corresponding to the months of pregnancy, according to Devala. Parāśara (3/17)¹ also mentions a similar rule. He further points² out that abortion upto 4 months of pregnancy is called *srāva* & abortion during fifth & sixth months of pregnancy is called *pāta*. However there is impurity for ten days, if there is abortion, after 6 months of pregnancy. But the view of *Marīci*³ is still quite different. He maintains that impurity to mother only is for three days on *srāva* & that impurity for three days to father etc. & the days corresponding to the months of pregnancy to the mother is to be observed, when there is *pāta*. The *Yāj.S.*⁴ (3.20) also contains a rule that is similar to that of Devala. The import of Manu (5.66)⁵ is also similar. Thus Devala agrees with Manu & Yājñavalkya, in this respect.

2. DAYS OF IMPURITY FOR THE FOUR VARNAS :

The days of impurity in case of four *varṇas* are 10, 15, 20 & 30 respectively according to Devala (1146). This is similar to Vasiṣṭha (4/27-30)⁶. But other *Smṛtis*⁷ (viz. Manu, Yājñavalkya, Dakṣa, Atri, Śaṅkha etc.) lay down the period of 10, 12, 15 & 30 days respectively for four *varṇas*. While *Gautam D.S.*⁸ (II/5/1-3) prescribes 10, 11, 12 (or half month) & 30 days respectively for the same.

Devala (1148) also refers to the view of 'others' (*apare*) that the impurity on birth or death should be observed for ten days by all *varṇas*. The author may be referring to the view of Śātātapa by the term '*apare*' as is clearly indicated by the verse of Āṅgiras⁹.

3. TOUCHABILITY ALLOWED AFTER PRESCRIBED DAYS :

The impurity may be lasting for 10, 15, 20 & 30 days respectively for the four *varṇas*, but they can be touched, after the period of 1/3 days of the total number of days of impurity (1149). The author further declares that the four *varṇas* can be touched, after 3, 4, 5, & 10 days of impurity respectively & their food can be partaken after 10, 12, 13 & 16 days respectively (1150). The view of Saṁvarta (41)¹⁰ is different. He mentions that the four *varṇas* become touchable, during impurity, on 4th, 6th, 8th & 10th day respectively.

4. ĀŚAUKA FOR ONE DAY TO SAGOTRAS :

Devala's view about *āśauka* for *sagotras* (those belonging to the *gotra* of the dead) is noteworthy. He prescribes (1154) the impurity for one day to the *sagotras* but bath only (*snānamātra*) is prescribed for *sagotras* by Bṛhaspati¹¹ (Reconstructed *Āśauka* 29). The *Dharmasindhu*¹² notes that the former view (i.e. *āśauka* for one day) is followed by Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa, while others do not prescribe *āśauka* (impurity) to the *sagotras*.

5. ĀŚAUKA TO THE SLAVES :

The slaves also have to observe *āśauka* (impurity) for the days, similar to those, observed by their master. Similar view about *āśauka* to the slaves is also to be found in the *Viṣṇu-smṛti* (22/19), the *Atrismṛti* (89) & the *Bṛhaspatismṛti* (Reconstructed, *Āśauka*¹³ 35). This would reflect upon the fact that slavery was prevalent, during the period, when this rule about impurity to the slaves was introduced.

6. ĀŚAUKASANNIPĀTA :

The impurity is of two kinds (1) caused by birth (*sūtaka*) & caused by death (*Mṛtaka* or *Śāva*) of a person. But there may be simultaneous occurrence of the two impurities. Another similar or dissimilar kind of impurity may occur during the period of an earlier impurity. The question of days of observance

of impurity in such cases requires consideration. Devala deals with the problem in the following manner (1168-1172).

1. The *sūtikā* (the lady, that has delivered), can be pure only at the end of the period of ten days. There is no relaxation in her impurity, due to the occurrence of another impurity.
2. When the impurity of death occurs during the period of an earlier impurity caused by death, the persons become pure at the end of the earlier impurity only. This another impurity of death, must occur, before the lapse of ten days. If it falls on the last i.e. tenth day, the impurity is to be extended by two days. If another impurity of death is heard in the morning of the eleventh day, the earlier impurity is to be extended by three days. The *Vasiṣṭha D.S.* (4/24-26) & the *Gautama D.S.* (II/5/5-7) contain similar rules.
3. The impurity, caused by death is severe & strict as compared to the impurity caused by birth. Hence the latter cannot affect the earlier one, when there is any conflict between the two.
4. The impurity of less days can be got rid of by that of more days, but not the vice versa.
5. If there is increase in the days of impurity by the occurrence of another impurity, the person can be pure at the end of the latter impurity, if the subsequent impurity occurs after the fifth day of the previous impurity.

Manu & Yājñavalkya do not consider all such possible alternatives of this topic. Both of them, merely prescribe the general rule that when there is occurrence of another similar *āśauka*, during the period of ten days of the earlier one, the person becomes pure at the end of the earlier impurity only. (Cf. *Manu.S.* 5/79, *Yāj.S.* 3/20a)¹⁴.

II. ANTYEṢṬI :

1. DEATH AT A PLACE OTHER THAN ONE'S BIRTHPLACE :

The death, in a country or a place, which is other than

the birth-place of the dead, leads him to hell. Hence an expiation is necessary to remove the taint, associated with the dead. On the contrary, the death at one's birth-place & on the bank of the river Ganges are declared to be leading the deceased to liberation (1202-1205).

2. DAY FOR MUṆḌANA :

The person, who performs the obsequial rites, has to undergo *muṇḍana* (shaving of head & beard), on the first & the tenth day of impurity & other younger brothers of his should undergo it only on the tenth day (1265 & 1266) according to Devala. Thus the author mentions only the first & last day for the eldest son & tenth day only for other sons, as the time, prescribed for *muṇḍana*. But Baudhāyana¹⁵ mentions several alternatives. It can be performed on the second, third, fifth, seventh or any other day until the offering of *śrāddha* rites continue upto *sapindikarāṇa*.

But the above difference in the practice of *muṇḍana* is due to the several usages, prevalent in the various parts of the country.".....According to the Benares school, the person, who performs the cremation shaves his head at the time of cremation, whereas under the *Mithilā* school, there is no such shaving at that time¹⁶. Mm. P.V. Kane cites these judicial remarks.

OBSERVANCE OF RESTRICTIVE RULES FOR ONE YEAR :

The spirit of the dead person becomes *mane* after the completion of one year. Hence certain rules are prescribed to be observed by the son, on the death of his father or mother for one year. The body of the son is considered impure, for the practice of certain religious observances, as are mentioned in the verses (1301- 1304).

III. ŚRĀDDHA RITES :

1. DUTIES OF AN IDEAL SON :

The present text (1307) mentions three important duties of an ideal son. The 'sonness' of the son lies in the proper

performance of them. His appellation as a 'son' becomes meaningful only, if he ideally follows them. (1) When the parents are alive, he should carry out the orders of them. (2) When they are not alive, he should regularly perform the *śrāddha* rites, every year, on the day of their death, by giving ample food to *Brāhmaṇas*, in honour of them. (3) He should offer the lump of rice at the sacred place Gayā. This is a very famous verse. It attaches great importance (1) to the obedience to the words of parents, (2) the performance of yearly *śrāddha* & (3) to the offering of *piṇḍas* at Gayā.

2. FOOD, OFFERED IN ŚRĀDDHA REACHES THE ANCESTOR :

The deceased person might have obtained birth in a different form of existence. The food is offered in the *śrāddha*, in honour of him. Food to the deceased ancestor, in his next birth, would naturally be different in different forms. Then, how can the human food satisfy the deceased? The question naturally arises in the present context of *śrāddha*. Devala elaborately describes, how the food can satiate them (1316-1319). This view, in brief, is that the food, transformed in an article, suitable for their enjoyment is cherished by them in every form of their existence. viz, If the dead has become god, the food is transformed into *amṛta* (nectar) and thus reaches them. These verses of the text are also found in some *Purāṇas*¹⁷ (like-eg. *Matsya*, *Padma* (*Sṛṣṭi*), *Garuḍa*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*). The *Viṣṇu Smṛti*¹⁸ (20/35) paraphrases the idea of these verses in a single verse.

3. PERIOD FOR MAHĀLAYAŚRĀDDHA :

The *Dharmasindhu* (p. 68) maintains that ordinarily there are fifteen days only for *mahālaya śrāddha*. If there is an increase (*vrddhi*) in the lunar days, they may become 16 in number. Devala, on the contrary, mentions the period of the *mahālaya* to be for sixteen days (1330). The first lunar day (*pratipad*) of the bright half also is included among the days of *mahālaya*. Thus the fifteen days of dark fortnight & the first day of the bright fortnight form 16 days of *mahālaya*. The

Mānava śrāddhakalpa, *Śātyāyani*¹⁹ etc. also mention sixteen days for *mahālaya śrāddha*, like Devala.

4. APĀṆKTEYAS :

While mentioning the *apāṅkteya brāhmaṇas* (the *brāhmaṇas* that defile the row) i.e. who are not fit to be invited for *śrāddha* ceremony, the author classifies them into five groups (1) *patitas* (apostates), (2) *upapātakins* (perpetrators of minor sins), (3) *pātaniyakas* (sinners), (4) *pañktidūṣakas* (defilers of the row) & (5) *pāpiṣṭhatamas* (the most sinful). Several kinds of sinful persons are enumerated under each group & later on the important terms occurring in the enumeration are also explained (1334-1383). The impotent persons are also mentioned in the above enumeration. Hence the author enumerates & explains six kinds of impotent persons (1379-1383). Nārada²⁰ (*strī. 11-13*) enumerates impotent persons of fourteen kinds.

5. GHEE OR THE MILK OF BUFFALO ALLOWED :

Devala prescribes that the milk and its products, of sheep, ewes & she-buffalo should not be used for the *śrāddha*, but the ghee of she-buffalo is beneficial i.e. it can be used for it. Some *Purāṇas*²¹ like *Vāyu* (78/17), *Brahma* (220/169), *Mārkaṇḍeya* (32/17- 19), *Viṣṇu* (3/16/11) have prohibited even the use of ghee, prepared from the milk of buffalo.

6. TIME OF OFFERING PINDAS :

The lumps of cooked rice are offered in honour of the manes at the *śrāddha*. There is no unanimity about the time, when these are to be offered. The *Gṛhya S.* & *Smṛtis* mention different & conflicting views. The *Dharmasindhu* has noted that there are in all six alternatives, mentioned in different *Smṛtis*²².

Devala appears to maintain the view of offering *piṇḍas*, before the *brāhmaṇas* have taken food. The *piṇḍas* are to be offered at the beginning, after the *brāhmaṇas* have taken their seats, before worshipping and feeding them in the *śrāddha*, as described in the present text. (1456, 1479, 1483). Manu (3/219) also describes the offering of *piṇḍas* before the meal of

brāhmaṇas, but he also refers to the opposite view (Manu 3/261). The *Mānavaśrāddhakalpa* (249-251) prescribes the *piṇḍadāna*, after the feeding of *brāhmaṇas*.

7. THE FORMULA FOR OFFERING PINDAS :

The formula for offering *piṇḍas*, mentioned by Devala is 'Etatte tata ye ca tvāmanu' (This is for thee, o Father' & also for those who follow thee'). This is similar to the expression, occurring in the *Ap.M.P.* (2/20/13). Similar formulas are also found in the *T.S.* (1/8/5/1), *AV* (18/4/71-77), *ASV.S.S.* (2.6.15), *Gobhila G.S.* (3.3.6), *Khādira G.S.* (3/5/17), *Bhāradvāja G.S.* (II/12)²³ etc.

But the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (2/4/2/19) finds fault with the above formula of offering *piṇḍas*. The person, offering *piṇḍas* would also be included by expression 'ye ca tvāmanu' & this inclusion is not proper. This formula, mentioned in the text clearly indicates that the author of the text is not at all the follower of the school of white *Yajurveda* in which recension, the formula of the text is not followed & is even criticised in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

8. GIVING OF GIFTS (DAKṢIṆĀDĀNA) :

The author points out that all acts, relating manes are to be performed with the *apasavya* (with the sacred thread worn on the right shoulder), but the act of giving gifts (*dakṣiṇā*) only is to be performed with the *savya* (with sacred thread held on the left shoulder). Moreover, all acts, pertaining to the *deva brāhmaṇas* are to be performed first, & then for the Manes, but the act of giving *dakṣiṇā* only is to be performed in the reverse order, i.e. the *brahmaṇas*, invited in the place of Manes should receive the *dakṣiṇā* first & then after the *brāhmaṇas*, in the place of gods are to be given. (1494)

9. THE PERIOD FOR ELABORATE ŚRĀDDHA :

After having described the entire procedure of the elaborate *śrāddha*, the author remarks that *śrāddha* should be performed in the prescribed manner, once, thrice or four times

in a year or in each month or on each day, according to one's faith in that ritual. Thus several alternative periods for its performance are suggested. Manu²⁴ (3/281) also enjoins like Devala the performance of *śrāddha* thrice in a year (i.e. in three seasons, *hemanta*, *grīṣma* & *varṣā*) and daily as a part of five great sacrifices. But the two alternatives, those of its performance once or four times in a year, mentioned by Devala, are not found in the above verse of the *Manusmṛti*. However, Manu mentions the performance of *śrāddha* on *amāvāsyā* day of every month, (3/122)²⁵ at another place.

10. SUBSTITUTES FOR ŚRĀDDHA-RITUAL:

Devala prescribes several substitutes or alternatives, if one is unable to perform the extensive *śrāddha* ritual. (1503-1509). (1) Offering of *piṇḍas* only, if *dravya* (articles) & *brāhmaṇas* are not available. (2) A fast on that day. (3) Offering water in honour of Manes to satiate them. (4) If a qualified *brāhmaṇa* is not available, another daily *pitṛyajña* is to be performed and the food is to be donated to the qualified *Brāhmaṇa* (5) The *darbha* grass is to be strewn in the place of *brāhmaṇas* & the *śrāddha* is to be performed properly with seeking their sanction (*praiṣa*) & the performance accordingly (*anupraiṣa*). (6) In the absence of everything else, one should at least offer into the fire in honour of Manes or give something to cow, or throw in water. But the ritual, relating to Manes should not be omitted. (7) If only one *brāhmaṇa* is available, the *śrāddha* can be performed with the offering of six *piṇḍas* & six *arghyas* & food is to be given to the six Manes. All of them, are to be considered as receiving food in the hand, mouth, palate, throat, heart & navel of the invited *brāhmaṇa*. Thus the elaborate *śrāddha* can be performed even with a single *brāhmaṇa*, but omission thereof is forbidden.

II. INDEBTEDNESS TO MANU :

The author explicitly mentions that his description of the *śrāddha* rite is the same, as was proclaimed by Manu. Hence it is necessary to consider how far Devala agrees with the

extant *Manusmṛti* & other works like *Mānavagṛhyasūtra*, *Mānavaśrāddhakalpa* etc., that deal with the *śrāddha* rite.

From the comparative study of the *śrāddha* rite, in the extant *Manusmṛti* & the present text, it appears that Devala is not indebted to the extant *Manusmṛti*, because the treatment of various topics like (1) praise of *śrāddha*, (2) *brāhmaṇas*, unfit for being invited, (3) Time of *śrāddha*, (4) the entire procedure of *śrāddha* etc. is not in full accordance with the extant *Manusmṛti*. A few cases of similarity may be there in some verses, but on the whole, the exposition of Devala is quite distinct from that found in the extant *Manusmṛti*. There is agreement between Manu & Devala, in respect of the time of offering *piṇḍas*, before the meal of the *brāhmaṇas*. But the worship of *brāhmaṇas* & offering to be made in the fire (*agnaukarāṇa*) are prescribed by Manu, before offering of *piṇḍas*, while Devala prescribes them after it. The supplication for blessings (*varayācanā*) is mentioned by Manu, at the end of the whole ritual; while Devala has enjoined the same, after the offering of *piṇḍas* & before worshipping & feeding of the *brāhmaṇas*. The act of taking out three portions from each of the three *piṇḍas* & offering them to the invited *brāhmaṇas* respectively, occurring in the *Manusmṛti* is not at all found in the present text. Thus there are various fundamental points of disagreement between the extant *Manusmṛti* & the present text of Devala, Hence Devala's exposition is not based upon the extant *Manusmṛti*, in its entirety.

However, the description of *śrāddha* in the present text is not based upon that in the *Mānavagṛhyasūtra* or the *Mānavaśrāddhakalpa*. The treatment of *śrāddha* rite in the *Mānavagṛhyasūtra* is very scanty. Devala's exposition does not tally with that also. Devala explicitly refers to the *Mānavaśrāddhakalpa* in the verse- "*Mānavaśrāddhakalpo'yam manunā samudāhṛtaḥ*" (1511). Hence it would appear that Devala may be indebted to the text of *Mānavaśrāddhakalpa*. But the extant text of the *Mānavaśrāddhakalpa*²⁶ does not exhibit any such similarity, on basis of which Devala's indebtedness can be proved. The *Mānavaśrāddhakalpa* prescribes the worship of *brāhmaṇas*, *agnaukarāṇa* & feeding of *brāhmaṇas*, before the offering of *piṇḍas*, while Devala

enjoins all of them to be performed after the offering *pinḍas*. Thus there is fundamental difference in the procedure described in the two texts.

Hence Devala is indebted to Manu for the exposition of *śrāddha* rite, but not to the extant texts ascribed to Manu, mentioned previously. Devala's words may be interpreted as referring to Manu as the promulgator of the Institution of *śrāddha*.

REFERENCES

1. *Yadi garbho vipadyeta sravate vāpi yoṣitām/
Yāvanmāsam sthito garbho dinam tāvat sa sūtakah//*
■ *Parāśara S. 3/17.*
2. *Ā caturthād bhavet srāvaḥ pātaḥ pañcamaṣaṣṭhayoḥ/
ata ūrdhvam prasūtiḥ syāddaśāham sūtakam bhavet//*
■ *Parāśara S. 3/18.*
3. *Srāve mātustrirātram syātsapiṇḍāsaucavarjitam/
pāte māturyathāmāsam pitrādīnām dinatrayam//*
■ *Marīci quot. in Mitā. on Yaj. S. 3/20.*
4. *Garbhasrāve māsatulyā niśāḥ śuddhestu kāraṇam/
■ Yaj.S. (III/20).*
5. *Rātribhirmāsatulyābhīrgarbhhasrāve viśudhyati/—
Manu.S. (5/66).*
6. *...Brāhmaṇo daśarātreṇa/pañcadaśarātreṇa
rājanyaḥ/viṃśatirātreṇa vaiśyaḥ/śūdro māsenā śudhyati/
■ V.D.S. (4/27-30).*
7. *Śudhed vipro daśāhena dvādaśāhena bhūmipah/
Vaiśyaḥ pañcadaśāhena śūdro māsenā śudhyati//*
■ *Manu.S. (VI/83).*
*Brāhmaṇasya daśāham tu bhavati pretasūtakam/
Kṣatrasya dvādaśāhāni viśaḥ pañcadaśaiva tu//
Triṃśaddināni śūdrasya.....//*
■ *Yāj.S. (3/22).*

- jātivipro daśāhena dvādaśāhena bhūmipah/
Vaiśyaḥ pañcadaśāhena śūdro māsenā śudhyati//*
■ *Dakṣa S. (6/7).*
- Brāhmaṇo daśarātreṇa dvādaśāhena bhūmipah/
Vaiśyaḥ pañcadaśāhena śūdro māsenā śudhyati//*
■ *Atri.S. (85).*
- Nāmadhārakaviprastu daśāhena viśudhyati/
Kṣatriyo dvādaśāhena vaiśyaḥ pakṣeṇa śudhyati/
Māsenā ca tathā śūdraḥ śuddhimāptoti nāntarā//*
■ *Śaṅkha S. (15/2-3).*
8. *Śāvamāsaucam daśarātram..../
Ekādaśarātram kṣatriyasya/
Dvādaśarātram vaiśyasyārdhamāsamekel/
Māsam śūdrasya.../
■ G.D.S. (2/5/1-3).*
 9. *Sarveṣāmeva varṇānām sūtake mṛtake tathā/
daśāhācchuddhireteṣāmiti śātātapo' bravīt//*
■ *Āṅgiras quot. in Mita. (on Yāj.S. 3/22).*
 10. *Caturthe'hani viprasya ṣaṣṭhe vai kṣatriyasya ca/
aṣṭame daśame caiva sparśaḥ syād vaiśyaśūdrayoḥ//*
■ *Śaṁvarta S.(41).*
 11. *Daśāhena sapīṇḍastu śudhyanti pretasūtake/
tritrātreṇa sakulyāstu snātvā śudhyanti gotrajāḥ//*
■ *B.S. (Recon. Āśauca) 29.*
 12. *Sagotrāṇāmekarātramiti nāgojībhaṭṭīye, anye tu
sagotrāṇm nāsaucamityāhuḥ/
■ Dharmasindhu (3) p. 367.*
 13. *Patnīnām dāsānāmānulomyena svāminastulyam-
āsaucam/
■ Vsn.S. (22/19).*
*Mṛtasūtake tu dāsīnām patnīnām cānulominām/
svāmitulyam bhavecchaucam mṛte svāmini yaunakam//*
■ *Atri.S. (89).*

*Dāsāntevāsibhṛtakāḥ śiṣyāścaikatravāsinaḥ/
svāmitulyena śaucena śudhyanti mṛtasūtakell*

■ B.S. 35 (Recon. Āśauca)

14. *Antardaśāhe cetsyātām punarmaraṇajanmanī/
tāvāt syādaśucirvipro yāvat tatsyādanirdaśam//*

■ Manu.S.5/79

Antarā janmamaraṇe śeṣāhobhirviśudhyati//

■ Yāj. S.3/20a.

15. *Aluptakeśo Yaḥ pūrvam so'tra keśān pravāpayet/
dvitīye'hni tṛtīye'hni pañcame saptame'pi vā/
yāvachrāddham pradīyeta tāvadityaparam matam//*

■ Baudhāyana quot. in P.M. 1/2, P.2

16. Mm. Kane, P.V.—H.D.S., Vol. IV, p. 218.

17. Cf. Ibid., pp. 335-336.

18. *Devatve yātanāsthāne tiryagyonau tathaiva ca/
mānuṣye ca tathāpnoti śrāddham dattam
svabāndhavañi//*

■ Vsn.S. 20/35.

19. *Kanyāgate savitari yānyahāni soḍaśa/
Kratubhistāni tulyāni piṭṛṇam dattamakṣyam//*

■ Gelder J.M.V.—Mānavasūtrasūtra
Śrāddhapariśiṣṭa on p. 254, verse 7.

*Nabhasyasyāpare pakṣe tithiṣoḍaśakam tu yat/
Kanyāsthārkānvitam cet syāt sa kālaḥ
śrāddhakarmañi//*

■ Śātyāyani quot. in P.M. 1/II p. 319.

*Adau madhye'vasāne vā yatra kanyām vrajed raviḥ/
Sa pakṣaḥ sakalaḥ pūjyaḥ śrāddhaṣoḍaśakam prati//*

■ Smṛti quot. in Dharmasindhu, p. 69.

20. *Caturdaśavidhaḥ śāstre ṣaṇḍho dṛṣṭo manīṣibhiḥ/
Cikitsyaścācikitsyaśca teṣā mukto vidhiḥ kramāt/
Nisargaṣaṇḍho vadhriśca pakṣaṣaṇḍhastathaiva ca/
abhiśāpād guro rogād devakrodhāttathaiva ca//*

*Īrṣyāṣaṇḍhaśca sevyāśca vātaretā mukhe bhagaḥ/
ākṣipto moghabījaśca śālīno'nyāpatistathā//*

■ Nārada (Strīpum. 11-13).

21. *Māhiṣam cāmaram mārgamāvikaikaśaphodbhavam/
Straiṇamauṣṭramāvikam ca (ṣṭramajāvikam?) dadhi
kṣīrām gṛham tyajet//*

■ Quot. by Mm. Kane, P.V., H.D.S., Vol. IV,
p. 415, fn. 935.

22. *Atha piṇḍadānam/Taccārcanottaramagnau-karaṇo-
ttraram bhojanottaram vikīrottaram svadhāvācanot-
taram vipravisarjanottaramiti ṣaṭpakṣāḥ smṛtyuktāḥ//*

■ Dharmasindhu, p. 350.

23. Kane, P.V.—H.D.S., Vol. IV, p. 476, n. 1067-1068.

24. *anena Vidhinā śrāddham trirabdasyeha nirvapet/
hemantagrīṣmavarśāsu pāñcayājñikamanvahanam//*

■ Manu.S. 3/281.

25. *Piṭṛyajñam tu nirvartya vipraścandrakṣaye'gnimān/
piṇḍānvāhāryakam śrāddham kuryānmāsānumāsikam//*

■ Manu.S. 3/122.

26. Cf. Gelder J.M. Van—Mānavasūtrasūtra, pp. 249-251.

A.2 THE DISTINCTIVE SACRAMENTAL FEATURES

PART III

1. ENUMERATION OF 21 KINDS OF SACRIFICES :

The text contains enumeration of 21 kinds of sacrifices (428- 430). They are the seven *pākayajña*, seven *haviryajña* and seven *somayajña saṁsthās*. The ancient *Sūtrakāras* like Gautama (1/8/14-22), Vaikhāṇasa (*Smārta* S.I.I.) have enumerated these sacrifices among *saṁskāras*. Following the practice of the ancient *Sūtrakāras*, Devala also refers to 21 kinds of sacrifices, but it is not clear, whether he accepts them as *saṁskāras* or not. In the latter period, the sacrifices might have lost their significance in the society, due to the influence of Bauddhas & Jainas and the result was that they were not even generally mentioned among *saṁskāras*. Only the sixteen *saṁskāras* became more popular. Even the *Manu & Yājñavalkya Smṛtis* do not mention the 21 kinds of sacrifices. Thus the peculiarity of Devala lies in the fact that he not only mentions and dilates upon the popular sixteen *saṁskāras*, but also enumerates the 21 kinds of sacrifices like ancient *sūtras*. This may reflect upon the priority of the *sūtra* portion of the text to even the *Manu & Yājñavalkya Smṛtis*.

But it may be remarked here that though Devala has enumerated 21 kinds of sacrifices, he maintains them to be *kāmya* & not *nitya* (62), as discussed in Ch.V.B. Thus according to Devala, they can bring about worldly prosperity, but not the spiritual uplift. While Śaṅkarācārya (*Bh.S.* 4/1/16-18) propounds them to be helpful even for emancipation, if they are performed without desire & he includes them in 48 *saṁskāras* that are *nitya*; The *Bhagavadgītā* (6/3 & 18-3 to 7) also seems to expound the same doctrine.

2. INCLUSION OF SACRIFICES IN 48 SAṂSKĀRAS :

The *Gautama D.S.* (1/8/14-22), Śaṅkha (quoted in *S.C.*, p. 13) etc. mention forty sacraments. The *Vaikhāṇasasmārta*

S. (1.1) speaks of 18 *śārīra saṁskāras* & twenty-two *yajñas* (i.e. 21 kinds of sacrifices and *pañcamahāyajñas* as one). Mm.P.V. Kane remarks, "Most of the *Gṛhyasūtras*, *Dharmasūtras* & *Smṛtis* do not enumerate so many".

But Śaṅkarācārya (*Bh.S.* 3/4/34)² refers to forty-eight *saṁskāras*, the highest number of them ever known. No Modern scholar including Mm.P.V. Kane, has ever taken notice of this fact. However while commenting upon the above statement of Śaṅkarācārya, Ānandagiri² has enumerated the fortyeight *saṁskāras*. But they are not yet traced in any of the available texts of *G.S.*, *D.S.*, & *Smṛtis*. Among *Nibandhas*, the *Vidhānapārijāta* contains a single verse ascribed to Yama,³ in which 48 *saṁskāras* are referred to. The same work⁴ contains two verses from the author's own collection, in which the fortyeight *saṁskāras* are enumerated. The three kinds of *yajñasāsthās* each consisting of 7 kinds of sacrifices are included among them. The *Nyāyakandali*⁵ has referred to these fortyeight *saṁskāras*.

3. SAṂSKĀRAS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT :

Names-(1) *Garbhādhāna* (2) *Puṁsavana* (3) *Śimantonnayana* (4) *Jātakarma*, (5) *Nāmakarma* (6) *Annaprāśana* (7) *Karṇavedha* (8) *Cūdākarma*, (9) *Akṣarārambha* (10) *Upanayana*, *Upākarma* (11) *Vedavratas*. (12) *Godāna* (13) *Vivāha* (14) *Paitṛmedhika* i.e. *Antyeṣṭi* & *śrāddhas*, (15) 7 *Pākayajñas* (16) 7 *Haviryajñas* (17) 7 *Soma yajñas* (18) *Lāṅgalayojanam*.

REFERENCES

1. Mm. Kane, P.V.—*H.D.S.*, Vol. II, Pt.I, p. 194.
2. *Yasyaite'ṣṭācatvāriṁśat saṁskārā ityādyā ca saṁskāraprasiddhirvaidikeṣu karmasu tatsaṁskṛtasya vidyotpatimabhipretya smṛtau bhavati*
■ *Bh.S.S.*-3/4/34.

Ānandagiri's explanation-

*Garbhādhānādayaḥ sahadharmacāriṇīsaṁnyogāntāścaturdaśa/
Pañca mahāyajñāḥ, sapta somasaṁsthāḥ sapta
haviṣsaṁsthāḥ sapta pākasaṁsthā itī catvāriṁśatsaṁskārāḥ/
Anaśnat saṁhitādhyayanam, prāyaṇam karma, japa,
utkramaṇam, daihikam, bhasmasamūhanamasthisaiṅ-
ayanam śrāddhānītyevamaṣṭācatvāriṁśatsaṁskārāḥ//*

3. *Aṣṭācatvāriṁśadete saṁskārā vihitā dvije/
Ya etaiḥ saṁskṛto vipro brahmalokam sa gacchatil/
■ Yama quot. in Vidhānapārijāta III/372.*

4. *Garbhādhānamatho hi puṁsavanakam sīmantajātakri-
yānāmānnādanacaulakopanayanam vedavratānyapyuta/
Catvāri snapanam vivāhakarāṇam pañcāpi yajñā atho
Saṁsthāḥ sapta ca sapta gaditāḥ triṁśaddaśāpyatra
tu//Evam cānaśanena vedapaṭhanam karṇe japastomiti
Prāṇotkrāntirathaurdhvadehikamataḥ saṁvyū (vū) hanam
bhasmanah/asthnām saṅcayanam tataḥ paramapi
śrāddhāni sāpiṇḍakam catvāriṁśaditi smṛtau nigaditāḥ
saṁskārakā hyaṣṭa ca//*

■ *Ityetau māmakau saṅgrahaślokau —
Vidhānapārijāta III/pp. 370-372.*

5. *Nyāyakandali of Śrīdharācārya*, ed, by
Jetli J.S. & Parikh., Pub. by Oriental Institute of
Baroda, Baroda, 1991, p. 623.

■ Cf. also *Agnīpurāṇa* Ch. 166. 9b-16a.

A.3 THE DISTINCTIVE RITUALISTIC FEATURES

I. THE NECESSARY INGREDIENTS OF RITUAL- *DARBHA*, *PAVITRA*, *KŪRCA* ETC.

1. ENUMERATION OF SEVEN KINDS OF *DARBHAS* :

The seven kinds of *darbhas* (sacrificial grass) are mentioned in the text (469). They are *kāśa*, *kuśa*, *uśīra*, *dūrvā*, *vrihi*, *viśvāmitra* & *kuṭha*. (The verse contains repetition of the word *kuśa* & hence the reading '*kuṭhāścaiva*' for '*kuśāścaiva*' is suggested. But yet the phrase '*viśvāmitrāḥ kuṭhāścaiva*' is ambiguous. Devala intends to refer to two kinds of *darbhas* by it. The other kinds of *darbhas* are wellknown & are enumerated in the lists of ten varieties of *darbhas*, occurring in the quotations¹ found in the *Nirṇayasindhu* & the *Dharmasindhu* .

Devala (470) also prescribes that the *darbhas*, of the following kinds should always be avoided. (1) those that are pregnant with other *darbhas*, (2) short-tips of which are cut with nails, (3) those that are boiled, (4) those that are burnt with fire.

2. WEARING OF RING IN THE *ANĀMIKĀ* FINGER :

It is prescribed that the ring (whether of gold or *kuśa* etc.) should always be worn in the finger next to the smallest one (*anāmikā*). The reason is also pointed out for such a use. The wearing of it, on the thumb, the *tarjanī* (finger near the thumb), the middle one, & the smallest one brings about the loss of father, loss of oneself, loss of son & all kinds of calamities, respectively. (471-474). This point is noteworthy.

3. THE PREPARATION & UTILITY OF *KŪRCA* :

The important technical information about *kūrca* (a bundle or handful of *kuśa* grass) is also found in the text (475-478). It is said to be of three kinds (1) *uttama* (the best), (2) *madhyama* (middling), (3) *adhama* (the lowest). The seven, five or three *darbhas* (sacred grass) are to be used for its

preparation. The knot, made with right turn should be of the size of one finger.

The upper part of the *kūrca* should be of four fingers, & its lower part of the length of four fingers. The *kūrca*, with its tips upwards, brings about prosperity. It is used in the rituals of *sānti*, with its tips, turned downwards; while during the activities of magical purposes, it should be used with tips, turned inside. The *kūrca* can be prepared with 27, 21 or 15 *darbhas*.

4. YAJÑOPAVĪTA :

PREPARATION & WEARING OF YAJÑOPAVĪTA :

The *śikhā* (tuft of hair on the head) & the *yajñopavīta* had become quite indispensable, by the time of the text. In the absence of these two, all religious acts, performed by a person, become futile (479).

The text deals with the procedure of preparation & wearing of *yajñopavīta* (480-497). It should be made up of nine strands (*tantu*), possessing three or two threads, tied with one knot. All the nine strands are believed to be having nine different deities in them. The deities are omkāra, Agni, Nāga, Soma, Pitr̥s, Prajāpati, Vāyu, Sūrya & Viśvedevās respectively in the nine strands. The material, out of which the *yajñopavīta* is to be made, is also enlisted. It can be made up of cotton, *kṣumā*, hair of cow's tail, hemp, bark of a tree & *kuśa*-grass. Any kind of material can be used, for its preparation, according to availability. But Manu (2.44) & Viṣṇu (27/19) prescribe² the use of cotton, hemp & sheep-wool respectively, for the three *varṇas*, while the *Baudhāyana D.S.* (1/5/8/5) & the *Gobhila gr.s.* (1.2.1.) mention³ only *kuśa* grass & cotton thread. Thus Devala, not only mentions different kinds of material for the *Yajñopavīta*, but also allows the use of any of it, according to the availability.

With regard to the length of *yajñopavīta*, it is prescribed that it should not be too small as would go above the chest nor should it be so long as would go beyond the navel. The

yajñopavīta of the first type destroys the wealth, while the latter is destructive of the penance. Hence the length should be measured. The technical description, about the method of preparation of *yajñopavīta* from cotton etc. is to be found in verses 483-494.

While wearing the *yajñopavīta*, the following procedure is to be followed, (495-497) according to Devala. The smooth cotton, made threefold, in the prescribed manner should be placed in the left hand & sprinkled with water to the accompaniment of the *sāvitrī mantra*, recited ten times. It is also to be sanctified with recitation of three *mantras*, *Bhūragnih* etc. (T.B. III. 10.2). It should be worn, after saluting Hari, Brahmā & Īśvara (probably Brahmā, Viṣṇu & Maheśa), with the chanting of the *mantra yajñopavītam* etc, or the *Vyāhṛtis*.

The *Baudhāyana Sūtra*, quoted in the *Saṁskāra Ratnamālā* (p. 188) contains the description of preparation & wearing of *yajñopavīta*. But the detailed process & procedure as found in the present text, is rarely met with elsewhere in other *Smṛtis*.

NUMBER OF YAJÑOPAVĪTAS TO BE WORN :

The number of *yajñopavītas* to be worn by a person is also considered in the text (499-503). The general rule is that two *yajñopavītas* (sacred threads) should be worn for all kinds of *Śrauta* & *Smārta* rituals & the third may be worn in the absence of the upper garment. The decision of *śāstra* is that it should be one for *brahmacārin*, two for *gṛhastha* & *vānaprastha* & one only for *saṁnyāsin*; The *snātaka* may wear two or more of them. A person, desiring longevity should put on more number of *yajñopavītas*. Those, desiring son & piety should wear even five of them.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES, WHEN THE YAJÑOPAVĪTA IS TO BE DISCARDED :

The *yajñopavīta* is to be discarded under the following circumstances (506). If it is prepared by a widow, or is prepared

on the days, prohibited for Vedic study or is made after taking meals or is broken or has gone below (the navel). This shows that certain rules, mentioned above, were also to be followed, while preparing & wearing it.

THE YAJÑOPAVĪA CAN BE TAKEN OFF FOR WASHING:

The text contains a very curious view that *yajñopavīta* can be taken off for washing (507- 511). The general rule is that the sanctified sacred thread, worn by the twice-born, can not be taken off for purifying it & if it is taken off, the person has to undergo an expiation. But it is also pointed out that the twice-born person, belonging to the *Taittirīya*, *Kaṭha*, *Kāṇva*, *Caraka*, *Vājasaneyin* schools, may take off the *yajñopavīta* for washing it, while those belonging to the *Bahvṛca*, *Sāmaga* & schools of *Yajurveda* (except those mentioned previously) should never take off the sacred thread. If they take it off, the rite of wearing a new *yajñopavīta*, after discarding the old one, is to be performed by them. But ultimately, it is prescribed that all the twice-born persons can take off the *Yajñopavīta*, for washing it on the three occasions-(1) While smearing the body with oil (*abhyāṅga*) (2) While taking bath in the ocean (3) On the day of annual *śrāddha* ceremony of parents.

II. ĀHNIKA (DAILY RITUALS) :

1. THE EIGHT AUSPICIOUS SIGHTS :

The *Vyāsa Smṛti* (3.2)⁴ prescribes that during the last watch of night, one should get up and remember Hari. After seeing the auspicious object (*maṅgaladravya*), he should perform the necessary work. Thus the observance of *maṅgaladravya* is an important duty, after getting up from bed. The verses (512-513) enumerate the eight auspicious or lucky objects. They are *brāhmaṇa*, cow, fire, gold, ghee, the Sun, water, and the king. He, who sees, bows down, worships & circumambulates them, his life is not diminished. These verses in the text are identical with those in the *Nārada-smṛti* (*prakīrṇaka*-54/55).

2. MŪTRAPURĪṢAVIDHI-(ANSWERING CALLS OF NATURE)

DIRECTION TO BE FACED :

According to Devala, while answering the calls of nature one should always face towards the north in the morning & the south in the evening, while it should always be avoided, during the twilights. Thus the two directions only are allowed by Devala, while *Yama*⁵ prescribes that one should face the west in the morning (*pūrvāhṇa*), the east in the afternoon, the north at the noon & the south, during the night. Thus there is explicit disagreement between the two.

According to the *Kṛtyakalpataṛu Brah.* (p. 149 & 150), the following solution can be suggested. In accordance with the statement of Devala, in the morning time (i.e. *prātaḥ* or *pūrvāhṇa* or three *Mahūrtas*-that is the first part of the fivefold division of the day) & in the *sāyāhṇa* (the last three *muhūrtas* of the day), one may face the north & south respectively, but at the remaining time of the day (i.e. in the remaining part of *pūrvāhṇa*, other than *prātaḥ* of three *muhūrtas* & in the *aparāhṇa*), one should follow the statement of Yama & face west and east respectively. The *Vīramitrodaya* (Āhn. 29) remarks that in the opinion of the *Kṛtyakalpataṛu*, the statement of Devala is from the standpoint of the fivefold division of the day, while that of Yama is from the point of view of threefold division only.

Devala prohibits the answering of natural calls, during the two twilights & the middle time of the day (*madhyāhṇa*) (cf. 199). But Yama allows it during *madhyāhṇa* with face to the northern direction. Manu⁶ (4.50) & Gautama (1/9/41- 43) allow the answering of calls even during two twilights, with face towards the north. Manu (4.50) & Gautama (1/9/41-43) mention a simple rule that during daytime, & the two twilights, one should face towards the north, while during nighttime, one should face the south.

NO PRESCRIPTION OF PRAMĀṆA & DRAVYASAṆKHYĀ FOR PURIFICATION :

While answering the calls of the nature, the lump of clay

was used for cleaning the parts of the body. Some *Smṛtis* consider the point as to how much of it was to be used & how many times it was to be employed.⁷ (Cf. *Manu S.* 5/136-137, *Vsp. S.* (60/25/-26), *Dakṣa S.* V/5-12). The *Smṛtis* prescribe the *pramāṇa* (number of times) & *dravyasaṅkhyā* (number of lumps), in various manner. But Devala, going against the above views of Manu, Viṣṇu etc. declares that the wise do not prescribe the number of times & lumps for purification, but the cleansing can be done as long as one thinks to be purified. Thus according to Devala, there is no necessity of prescribing such details. They can be followed to the extent of one's own concept of purification. They depend upon the various conditions like the individual, the situation, time, availability of material like water, clod etc. (527).

HANDS & FEET TO BE WASHED UPTO WRIST & KNEES RESPECTIVELY :

It is remarkable to note that washing hands & feet, they are to be washed with water upto the wrist & the knees respectively, for purification after answering calls, according to Devala (544).

3. SNĀNA :

BATH EVEN DURING NIGHT ON ECLIPSE ETC. :

Generally, the bathing & giving gifts are prohibited to be performed during the night time. Both these acts can be performed even during night on certain occasions like the eclipse, *saṅkrānti*, marriage, birth, death or voluntary vows (557).

MĀNASASNĀNA :

A nice description of the *mānasasnāna* (mental bath) is to be found in the text (588-599). One should meditate upon the *Puruṣottama* (Viṣṇu), residing in one self; The Ganges, arising from His feet should be thought of as falling upon one's

head & entering the body through the *brahmarandhra*. With it, one should purify the internal & external dirt & become pure like crystal. The three *nāḍīs*, namely *idā*, *piṅgalā* & *suṣumṇā* are respectively the three rivers, *Gaṅga*, *Yamunā* & *Sarasvatī*. One who thus bathes in this *Mānasatīrtha* which is considered to be the lake of knowledge, with water in the form of meditation, which is destructive of attachment & hatred, he attains the Highest State. One should also think one-self to be Acyuta, Ananta, Govinda & Hari. One should imagine oneself to be blissful, complete, unborn, immortal, eternal, doubtless, unchanging & immutable. One should think oneself to be the *Brahman* & liberated, not a *saṁsārin*, involved in worldly affairs. Thus whosoever performs this *Mānasasnāna*, daily, reaches the Highest *Brahman*, at the end of his life. This bath has been declared by *Harihara* & others. It is the best & divine bath, superior even to the *Mantrasnāna*. He, who, regularly performs this *snāna* is really *Nārāyaṇa*. He lives long over-coming the *Kālamṛtyu* (timely death).

Some peculiarities of this description are noted below :

- (1) There is influence of the *Vaiṣṇava* sect upon the author of the verses. (2) There is also influence of *Tantra* literature, as there are explicit references to the *brahmarandhra* & the *nāḍīs* like *idā*, *piṅgalā* & *suṣumṇā* (3) The vivid description of one's own real nature, identical with the supreme *Brahman*, is purely Vedantic & the *Brahman* is also referred to at two places. (4) This *Mānasasnāna* is said to have been declared by *Harihara* & others. But it is not known, who this *Harihara*, who declared the *Mānasasnāna* is & who are meant by the term '*ādibhiḥ*'. (5) The description of the *Mānasasnāna* is, after all, marvellous & interesting.

PURIFICATION OF PERSONS, SUFFERING FROM DISEASES :

The author prescribes a peculiar method of purification of a woman, suffering from disease, in her monthly course. The lady has to take bath on the 4th day for purification or she may be required to take bath, during her course, but as she is suffering from disease, she may be unable to do so.

Hence a different method of purification of such a lady is mentioned in the text. (585 & 586). She is not to be bathed. But another lady, who is not suffering from disease, should touch her & bathe for ten times, wearing fresh garments at each time, after bath. The sick lady becomes pure, by giving meals to the *brāhmaṇas* on some auspicious day. The same rule is to be followed in case of sick person, who is unable to take bath, but when the bath is quite necessary to be taken by him. (587).

The *Uśanas Smṛti*⁸ quoted in the *S.C.* (I.p. 121) mentions similar method for purification of a woman, in her course, but there the woman that touches the sick lady has not to change her clothes for ten times, as mentioned by Devala. Similarly, Yama⁹ (53), mentions that the other healthy person has to take bath & touch the sick person for ten times for purification of the sick, but he also like Uśanas does not mention wearing of new clothes at each time after bath. Yama's prescription is for the purification of a sick person. The *Bṛhatparāśara Smṛti*¹⁰ (8/305) also prescribes a rule like Yama for the purification of a sick person.

4. WEARING OF GARMENTS :

Some rules about wearing of garments, mentioned in the text are noteworthy.

1. A healthy person should not rinse his limbs, with a scarf or hand, because the water of the head, face, chest & the lower part is drunk by the Gods, Manes, *Gandharvas* & all creatures respectively. An alternative rule is prescribed that one should at least rinse the body with an already washed garment & wear two dry garments (575 & 576).
2. The religious activity should be performed by the wise, with a garment, washed by himself. It should never be performed by a garment, that is new (unwashed) or is washed by a washerman. This shows that, for the religious purposes, one has to wash his own garments. The garments, washed by a washerman are not allowed.

3. The garments dipped in indigo are not at all allowed by the author. These garments are prohibited for all religious activities and if they are performed with such garments, those activities become futile. One should undergo *Yāvaka* expiation on wearing it for one day, *parāka* on occasional wearing of it & *cāndrāyaṇa*, on wearing it for one year.

5. MĀRJANA, UPASTHĀNA, VAISVADEVA ETC. :

MĀRJANA AT THE END OF A PĀDA :

The *mārjana* is to be performed with nine quarters (*padaiḥ*) of eight syllables. The three *mantras*, namely *āpohiṣṭhā* etc. contain three lines in each *mantra* & these lines have eight syllables. The sprinkling of water is to be done at the end of each quarter or line. The sprinkling of water is to be done for nine times, as there are totally nine lines of three *mantras*. The divine luster would be lost, if the person does not practise it in the prescribed manner (603).

There are three alternatives¹¹ about *mārjana*. It can be done at the end of each *ṛc* or half of it or at the end of each *pāda* or line. Devala prescribes only the last one & does not allow the other two alternatives. Bṛhaspati¹² is also of the same opinion.

From the *Dharmasindhu* (p. 239-241) it appears that the above method of *mārjana* is followed by the followers of *Bahvṛca* (*Rgvedins*) & *Kātyāyana* (white *Yajurvedins*) recensions, while the *Taittirīyas* follow the 'ṛgante' method of *mārjana*. Thus the statements of the *Dharmasindhu* would suggest that Devala does not follow the *Taittirīya* recension of the *Veda* or that the *Taittirīyas* do not follow the method, prescribed by Devala.

MANTRAS FOR UPASTHĀNA :

The *upasthāna* (*mantras*, recited during the worship of the Sun in the twilight-worships) is to be performed with the recitation of the four *mantras* viz. the three *mantras* from

Mitrasya etc. (V.S. 11. 62-64) & the fourth, 'Vasavasvā' etc. (VS. 11. 65) during the morning worship, while during the evening adoration, the four *mantras* from 'imamme etc.' (VS. 21.1-4) are to be recited. Like Devala, *Baudhāyana D.S.*¹³ (II/4/7/9-11) also refers to the recitation of *mantras*, addressed to *Mitra* in the morning & with those addressed to *Varuṇa* in the evening. But he prescribes the recitation only of two *mantras* at both times-viz. *Mitrasya carṣaṇi* (RV. 3/59/6) & 'Mitro janān' (RV. 3/59/1) in the morning & 'imam me' (RV. 1.25.19) & *tatvāyāmi* (RV. I. 24.11) in the evening. Thus, in this respect, Devala & Baudhāyana are different. The *upasthāna-mantras*, recited by *Bahvṛcas* (Ṛgvedins), *Taittirīyas* (followers of *Taittirīya* recension of Black *Yajurveda*) & *Kātyāyanas* (followers of white *Yajurveda*) are quite different from those mentioned by Devala. (Cf. *Dharmasindhu* pp. 240-242).

The *mantra* 'Vasavasvā' is not found in the *Ṛgveda*, *Sāmaveda* & *Atharvaveda Saṁhitās*, which may indicate that the author does not follow any of these *saṁhitās* here.

ŪRDHVAPUṆḌRA-INFLUENCE OF VAIṢṆAVA CULT :

The necessity of *ūrdhvapuṇḍra* is emphasized at two places in the text. All activities like sacrifice, giving gifts, *homa* (offerings), the study of *Veda* & the offering of water to the Manes become futile, if these are performed without *ūrdhvapuṇḍra* (perpendicular mark on the forehead) (172). Even a knower of *Veda* & *Vedānta* is regarded as the vilest person & thief among men, if he does not possess the *ūrdhvapuṇḍra* mark on his forehead (607). This reflects upon the influence of the *Vaiṣṇava* cult upon the present text. The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* & *Kātyāyana* (quoted in A.M. 38)¹⁴, on the contrary emphasize the necessity of *tripuṇḍra*, in a similar manner. Thus the followers of *Śaiva* & *Vaiṣṇava* sects have given importance even to the external aspects of *dharma*, as indispensable, as they distinguished their sects from the other sects.

The two epithets 'cakrāṅkitatanuḥ' & 'liṅgākitāḥ' refer to the followers of the *Vaiṣṇava* & *Śaiva* cults, who make the

external peculiar marks of wheel & phallus respectively on their body. The text (699) prohibits taking food in the row of such persons. The influence of *Vaiṣṇava* cult is also indicated by the statements like "He does not remember Govinda at the time of his death" (731) & "from him Hari is quite away" (727).

VAIṢVADEVA-KRATVARTHA OR PURUṢĀRTHA :

The *vaiṣvadeva* is considered to be *puruṣārtha* only (i.e. for effecting some *saṁskāras* on the person) by the *Mitākṣara* (on *Yāj.S.* 1.103), the *Smṛticandrikā* (1.213), the *Parāśaramādhava* (1.1.390) etc., while there is also another view that it is both *puruṣārtha* & also for effecting *saṁskāra* (the unseen spiritual result) on the food¹⁵ (*Smṛtyarthasāra* p. 46 & *Laghu-Āśv. Smṛ.* 1. 116).

But if it is performed only for effecting *saṁskāra* on the person, it is not necessary to be repeated, when food is cooked, again on the same day. On the contrary, if it is a *saṁskāra* on the food cooked, it must be performed at each time when it is cooked. Devala prescribes the first alternative, that the *vaiṣvadeva* is to be performed only once, even when food is prepared again on the same day (619- 622). Thus according to Devala, the *vaiṣvadeva* is *puruṣārtha* only. But it is to be noted that the verse (618), also explicitly mentions that it is to be performed for sanctifying or purifying the food. This verse is most probably of a later period than the *sūtra* portion of the text.

BLOWING OF THE FIRE WITH MOUTH :

It is necessary to blow the fire to kindle it. Blowing of the fire is not to be done with a cloth, or a leaf or hand or winnowing basket or mouth or a ladle or even with a fan. This is the declaration of the *Śruti*, according to the author (624). If the fire is blown with a leaf or a winnowing basket or hand or mouth, the result is the ill-health, loss of wealth, death, diminishing of life respectively (625). But the *Kātyāyana Smṛti*¹⁶ (9. 14 & 15) allows to blow it with a fan and the *śrauta* fire

even with the mouth. The *Gṛhyasaṅgraha Pariśiṣṭa*¹⁷ (1.70) also allows the blowing with the mouth, which is quite opposed to the explicit prohibition of Manu (IV.53) and Gautam (1/9/32).

But according to Devala, the fire should be blown with the mouth only, as *Śruti* declares it to have been produced from the mouth. (VS. 31. 12). But it is not to be blown only with the mouth, some other material like the *dharani* (blowing pipe), grass, stick etc. should be kept between the fire and the mouth (626).

The last quarter of the verse (626) reminds one of the last quarter of the *mantra* in the *Puruṣasūkta* of the VS (31. 12d). This may suggest the influence of this *Saṁhitā* on the author.

6. BHOJANA :

PLATES OR VESSELS FOR EATING :

The general rule is that a broken vessel or plate is not to be used for eating. But the present text (646) allows taking food, even in the broken plate, made of copper, silver, gold, stone, conchshell & crystal. A similar rule is ascribed to *Paṭhinasī* in the *Smṛticandrikā* (I. p. 222). It is also enjoined by Devala that one should always eat in a plate made of gold, silver or copper & not in a plate, made of a material different from these (652). (If the word '*tadbhinnani*' is understood in the sense of a broken vessel, this rule would go against the above view of Devala of taking food in a broken plate of gold etc. but the *sūtra* (646) is chronologically of earlier period than the present verse (652). The taking food in a silver (*piśāca* & a copper (*udumbara*) plate is highly praised as destroying all sins & leading to the Highest State.

MAṆḌALA FOR BHOJANA :

Devala (657) declares that the four *varṇas* should make square, triangle, circle & crescent figures below the plate with water as a *maṇḍala*. All strength of that food is taken away by the spirits & golbins, when the *maṇḍala* is not made below

the plate (658). Some other *Smṛtis* (e.g. *Atri V. 1*)¹⁸ do not prescribe the crescent figure, in case of a *sūdra*, but they enjoin only the sprinkling of water below the plate.

FOOD OF SOME ŚŪDRAS CAN BE PARTAKEN EVEN BY BRĀHMAṆAS :

The food of the following five persons of *sūdra* caste could be partaken even by the *Brāhmaṇas*. They are one's own servant, barbar, cowherd, potter & farmer, according to Devala (686). Other *Smṛtis*¹⁹ like- Yājñavalkya (1.168), Parāśara (11.20). Yama (20), Viṣṇu (57/17) also enumerate the *sūdras*, whose food could be partaken. Devala enumerates only five such persons, but Yājñavalkya (1.168) & others enumerate five & add one more i.e. *yaścātmānam nivedayet* (whosoever surrenders himself as a dependent). The servant, cowherd, cultivator, barber-these four are common. Family-friend (*kulamitra*) mentioned by them is absent in Devala's enumeration and the potter, mentioned by Devala is not found in the other *Smṛtis*. Moreover, the author specifically adds '*sva*' in the beginning with '*dāsa*' which may indicate that other persons also related with oneself are *bhojyānna* & not others²⁰ (Cf. K.K.N., p. 263).

OCCASIONS, WHEN THE TĀMBŪLA IS PROHIBITED :

The use of *tāmbūla* for eating is not found in the *Sūtras* and early *Smṛtis*. Hence, the rules, prescribing & prohibiting the eating of *tāmbūla* are of a later period, when it became current in India (i.e. first or 2nd century A.D.).

Several occasions on which the partaking of the *tāmbūla* is prohibited are mentioned in the text. They are (1) *amāvāsyā*, (2) day of *śrāddha* to the ancestor, (3) pilgrimage, (4) impurity due to death, (5) death of a kinsman, (6) eleventh lunar day in both fortnights, (7) when one is impure, (8) on a road, (9) during both the twilights, (10) in a temple, (11) in an assembly hall, (12) during conversation, (13) when many people are suffering, (14) when there is great danger, (15) fall of empire, (16) unrest in the public, (17) during the worship of gods &

preceptors, (18) when vow is undertaken, (19) while listening *Purāṇa*-(703-706).

The mention of 'Hari's day during both fortnights clearly indicates the influence of *Vaiṣṇava* cult on the text. The prohibition of the *tāmbūla*, while listening *Purāṇa* suggests that the *Purāṇa* recitation and exposition had become very much popular in those days. This indicates the later emergence of the present verses.

7. BHAKṢYĀBHAKṢYA :

IMPORTANCE OF GHEE IN BHOJANA :

The ghee is the most necessary article in the food of a householder. He should not take food, without ghee at any time, because the ghee is not only purifying and agreeable, but also destructive of sins according the author (716). Plenty of ghee was also to be served to the guest. The author adds that the householder, not serving ghee to the guest, even when it is available in the house, goes to Hell (635).

EATING OF SEEDS PROHIBITED :

The text prescribes that seeds, should not be eaten except for curing diseases, as the eating of them would destroy the production of future innumerable fruits (717). This shows that seeds can be used for curing diseases. But in ordinary circumstances, the seeds should not be destroyed by eating. Numerous other trees, giving plenty of fruits can shoot forth from seeds.

CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH THE USE OF MILK :

The following two customs, connected with the use of milk in the text (718) are noteworthy. (1) Any article, which is a product of milk is not to be partaken during night-time. The *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*²¹ (quoted in G.R. 370) strictly prohibits the partaking of curds at night, even at the time of commencing the journey during night-time. (2) The milk is the most pure

& purifying article of food & hence it should not be denied, when served. Both these customs are still prevalent in some parts of Mahārāṣṭra.

KAUSUMBHA-FORBIDDEN :

Kausumbha means the product of *kusumbha*, known as *karadai* in Marathi, safflower in English, *Kusumbi*, *Kasambi*, *Kabri* (seed) in Gujarati, *Kusumbar*, *Kusum* in Hindi. It is prohibited by the author (721). But the green leaves of it are freely used as a vegetable, and the oil, extracted out it was used even by brahmins in the Mahārāṣṭra, before the ground-nut oil became popular.

DRINKING OF URINE ETC. FOR CURING DISEASES, NOT ALLOWED :

The diseases can be cured by the use of urine etc. This remedy was known from very ancient times. Even the works like *Caraka* etc. do contain references to such use. The present text (796- 802) indicates that not only urine, but the intoxicants, human semen, ordure, milk etc. can work as a remedy for diseases, but are strictly prohibited & an expiation is prescribed for such a use by a person. This expiation, mentioned in the text for drinking human semen, ordure, urine etc. is somewhat liberal than that mentioned by *Manu* (11. 151) & *Yājñavalkya* (3.254) *Smṛtis*²².

Devala maintains that the twice-born person should fast for three days, if he drinks urine, semen etc. through ignorance and should perform the *taptakṛcchra* penance, if these are drunk intentionally, while *Manu* & *Yājñavalkya* enjoin *punaḥsaṁskāra*, even when these are drunk through ignorance.

DRINKING OF WINE :

Many varieties of wine are mentioned in the text. The eleven kinds of intoxicants are referred to in the verse (1635). The verses 769 & 770 enumerate seven & ten varieties of wine.

The *Viṣṇu Smṛ.*²³ (22/83-84) also mentions ten kinds of intoxicants like Devala (verse 770), while Pulastya²⁴ (quoted by *Mitākṣara* on *Yājñ.* 3. 253) refers to eleven varieties of them, excluding *surā*, which would be the twelfth one.

All these varieties of intoxicants are strictly prohibited for *brāhmaṇas*, but the *kṣatriya* & the *vaiśya* are allowed to drink them (771). Even the expiation also is enjoined, only for the *brāhmaṇa* by Devala (1633 & 1635). The *Viṣṇu Smṛ.* (22/83- 84) also contains similar rule. But Manu²⁵ (XI. 94, 95) prohibits the drinking of three kinds of *surā* for all the three *varṇas* viz. for *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya* & *vaiśya* also.

III. PERIODICAL RITES & CUSTOMS :

I. THE AUSPICIOUS PERIOD ON VARIOUS SAṆKRĀNTIS :

Certain practices of bath, giving gifts etc. are to be observed, when the Sun passes from one *rāśi* to another but the exact time of the Sun's transit is so minute that it is difficult to be known by the ordinary naked eyes (819). Hence several alternatives are suggested about the time of observance of the religious activities on that day.

1. The most general rule is that the whole day is auspicious, when the *saṅkramaṇa* is during daytime, while only the half of the day is auspicious, when it is during night-time. (825).
2. Another general rule is that it is 30 *ghaṭikās* (12 hours) before and after the time of *saṅkrānti* (819).
3. The 30 *ghaṭikās* on *karka*, 20 *ghaṭikās* after *saṅkramaṇa* for *makara*, 10 *ghaṭikās* before and after the time of transit on *meṣa* & *tulā saṅkrāntis*, 60 *ghaṭikās* after the transit in case of *śaḍaṣṭi*-i.e. *mithuna*, *kanyā*, *dhanu* & *mīna saṅkrāntis* & 16 *ghaṭikās* before & after the *saṅkramaṇa* for *viṣṇupada* (i.e. *śirṇha*, *vṛścika*, *kumbha*, & *vṛṣabha saṅkrāntis* (823-824).

TABLE NO. 2

The following table shows the auspicious time on each *saṅkrānti*, according to Devala. It is also compared with the information, supplied by the *Dharmasindhu* (p. 2).

	Devala Ghaṭikāḥ		Dharmasindhu Ghaṭikāḥ	
	Pūrvāḥ	Parāḥ	Pūrvāḥ	Parāḥ
1. <i>Meṣa</i>	10	10	15 or 10	15 or 10
2. <i>Vṛṣabha</i>	16	16	16	—
3. <i>Mithuna</i>	—	60	—	16
4. <i>Karka</i>	30	(pūrvā or parā not clear)	30	—
5. <i>Śirṇha</i>	16	16	16	—
6. <i>Kanyā</i>	—	60	—	16
7. <i>Tulā</i>	10	10	15 or 10	15 or 10
8. <i>Vṛścika</i>	16	16	16	—
9. <i>Dhanu</i>	—	60	—	16
10. <i>Makara</i>	—	20	—	40
11. <i>Kumbha</i>	16	16	16	—
12. <i>Mīna</i>	—	60	—	16

4. The most auspicious time is the *nāḍis* or *ghaṭikās* that are nearest to the time of *saṅkrānti* (822).

Mm.P.V. Kane is of the opinion that "in any case the observances & festival of *makarasāṅkrānti* do not appear to be much older than the beginning of the Christian era"²⁶. The observances relating to each *saṅkrānti*, were prevalent at least during the period of the present portion of text, in which the auspicious time on each *saṅkrānti* is laid down.

2 THE FAMOUS VERSES OF TITHINIRṆAYA :

The verses 828 & 829 are very much popular and are frequently quoted by almost all the digests & commentaries, in connection with the subject of decision of a lunar day (*tithi*). The variants of these verses would also indicate that there is

no unanimity about the last quarter of them. Some follow the reading as given in the present text, but some other read 'Dānādhyayanakarmasu' as the last quarter of the first verse and 'snānadānāpādīsu' as the last quarter of the second verse. The general import of the verses is as follows : The *tithi* may not sometimes be for the whole day & hence whichever portion of the *tithi* is at the time of rising of the Sun, it should be taken to be for the whole day for performing acts like bath, giving gifts and *japa* (muttering of *mantra*). Whichever *tithi* is at the time of setting of the Sun, it should be considered fit for the acts like giving gifts & study.

3. SIMPLE DICTUM OF TITHINIRNAYA :

The author also mentions a very simple & easy rule for the decision of *tithi*. It may happen that on one & the same day, there may be two *tithis*, at the different parts of the day. In such cases, the decision of *tithi* for a particular rite becomes difficult. The simple solution is suggested by the author. The *tithi* at the time of the sunrise, though it may be for 24 minutes that should be taken for vows, fast, bath etc. i.e. for *daiva karma*. While that *tithi* which is at the time of the sunset, should be understood for *śrāddha* i.e. for *pitṛkarma*. Thus instead of suggesting some calculations from the point of view of threefold or fivefold division of the day for determining *tithi*, the author has advocated a very easy rule, which can be understood & followed even by the ordinary person.

4. FAST FOR LONG DURATION PROHIBITED TO VAIŚYA & ŚŪDRA :

The *vaiśya* & *śūdra* can observe fast, but they should not observe it continuously for three or five days. The fast for days less than three or five may be observed by them (840). Similar rule about observance of *upavāsa* by *vaiśya* & *śūdra* occurs in the *Mahābhārata*²⁷ (Anu. 106.12) but the difference is that according to the verse in the *Mahābhārata*-the *vaiśya* & *śūdra* can observe fast only for three or two days, while according to Devala, they can observe the same for three or five days.

The *Varṣakriyākaumudī* (p. 67)²⁸ has properly explained

the implications of the term '*puṣṭi*' in this verse. It means 'fruit' & thus according to Govindānanda, there is prohibition only of *kāmya* or voluntary fast. Thus the *vaiśya* & *śūdra* should not observe a *kāmya* or voluntary fast for three or five days but the fast, which is compulsory or occasional (*nitya* & *naimittika*) & extends for longer duration, can be observed by them.

5. RULES TO BE OBSERVED DURING THE PERIOD OF VRATA :

The person must observe certain restrictive rules during the period of the observance of a vow. He should avoid drinking water repeatedly, eating the *tāmbūla*, sleep during day time and cohabitation (848). If these are practised, they would break the fast. Moreover, certain virtues are also necessary to be observed in all vows. Devala mentions the four virtues, namely celibacy, non-violence, truthfulness, avoidance of eating meat. (849). The *Agnipurāṇa*²⁹ (175/10, 11a) prescribes ten such virtues, generally to be observed in all vows.

As regards, celibacy, the author remarks that it is lost by passionately looking at, touching, talking unnecessarily with women, but not by cohabitation with one's own wife at the proper period (850).

6. AVOIDANCE OF FOUR MEALS WHILE OBSERVING FAST :

The person, observing religious fast should avoid taking four meals, i.e. he should not eat in the evening of the previous day, both in the morning and evening on the day of the fast & in the evening of the next day (841). In other words, the taking of food is to be avoided on the day of the fast, & during the evening time of the previous as well as the next day of the fast. The *ekabhukta* is to be observed on the previous & the next day of the fast. Referring to the views of the works like *Kālanirṇaya*, *Ekādāśītattva* etc., Mm.P.V. Kane³⁰ remarks, "All these works say that the word *sāyam* is not to be taken literally, but is only indicative & what is really intended is the giving up of four meals in three days".

7. AVRATAGHNĀNI :

The vow must be properly & strictly observed, but sometimes it may be broken due to some accidental causes. The text mentions four causes, that do not break the vow, when they occur only once, during the period of vow.

The vow is not considered to be broken, when the breaking of it, takes place only once, due to (1) danger from or to all beings, (2) disease, (3) mistake, (4) the command of the elder person (844). In the *Agnipurāṇa*³¹ (175/43), eight such causes are mentioned, that do not cause obstruction or impediment to the observance of vow. They are water, root, fruit, milk, sacrificial food, desire of *brāhmaṇa*, advice of the preceptor, & medicine.

8. RULES ABOUT EKABHUKTA, NAKTA & PĀRANĀ :

In the *ekabhukta* vow, the food is to be taken, according to Devala (845), after the half of the day has passed. The three morsels are to be taken less than those that are ordinarily eaten. Generally, eight morsels are prescribed for an ascetic, sixteen for the forest hermit, thirty-two for the house-holder & unlimited for student.³² (Cf. A.D.S. 2/4/9/13). A similar verse ascribed to the *Skanda Purāṇa* (quot. in H.K., p. 108) reads the last quarter as *atastat- syāddivaiva hi* & thus emphasises the importance of its performance during day time, while Devala adds the rule of restricting the number of morsels to be taken.

In respect of *nakta* vow, the question arises about the time, when the food is to be taken. The term *nakta* itself clearly indicates that in this kind of vow, the food is to be eaten, during night time & should be avoided during day time. The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*³³ (K.K.V.P.3) mentions two views about *nakta*. According to some, it is the time, when the stars become visible, while all to other wise men, it is the time of the last *muhūrta* (i.e. 48 minutes) of the day before the sunset. The *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* itself favours the former view. Hemādri³⁴ (*Kāla* p. 114) explains the former to be the primary period & the latter as the secondary period for *nakta*.

Devala also seems to be aware of the above two views

about *nakta* & permits both of them, pointing out a very logical reason for this kind of twofold distinction. He states that (846) the wise declare the *nakta*, in case of householder, to be, when the stars are visible, but the 8th part of the day is prescribed for an ascetic, as he is not allowed to take food, during night time, after the sunset.

About *pāranā* (completing the vow by taking food), the author prescribes that it should always be performed in the morning, otherwise half of the fruit of the fast would vanish (847). But it may happen that due to some adverse circumstances, the performer may not be able to complete his vow, by taking food in the morning. But it is a rule that evening meal is to be avoided on the next day of the fast. Hence the observer should break his vow, merely by drinking water in the morning, so that even if he takes food at any time of day, it does not go against the rule, as he does not take food at the second time (870). Thus the *pāranā*, which is performed by drinking water, amounts to both, eating & non-eating (871).

9. FAST ON EKĀDASHĪ :

There are divergent views about the observance of fast on the eleventh day of both fortnights. According to Devala, the fast on the eleventh day of both the fortnights should be observed only by the foresthermits & ascetics, but the householder should observe it only on the *ekādashī* of the bright fortnight. (863). Nārada³⁵ (*Nirṇayasindhu*, p. 26) also like Devala, prohibits the *ekādashī* fast in the dark fortnight for householder, having son. The *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*³⁶ (4/26/38) also allows the omission of the *ekādashī* of the dark half in case of persons, other than *Vaiṣṇava*.

Some other views may also be noted. (1)³⁷ The *ekādashī* fast on both the fortnights should be observed by all devotees of *Viṣṇu* at all times. (2)³⁸ The fast on both *ekādashīs* is to be observed by all, during the *cāturmāsya* period. These views are opposed to the above statement of Devala. Thus though Devala is influenced by the *Vaiṣṇava* cult, he does not prescribe like orthodox sectarian the fast to be compulsory on both *ekādashīs* to all persons.

10. FESTIVALS :

WORSHIP OF COWS ON PRATIPAD :

The worship of cows is to be performed on the *pratipad* of bright fortnight in the month of *Kārtika*. The *pratipad* which is mixed with the *amāvāsyā* is to be taken here for the worship of cows & not that which is connected with the *dvitīyā tithi*. The sons, wife & wealth are lost, if the cows are worshipped on the *pratipad*, associated with *dvitīyā*, while there is enrichment of progeny, cows & the king, if they are worshipped on the *pratipad*, connected with the *amāvāsyā* (852-854). Moreover, if the Moon is seen at night on the day of worship & sporting of cows, the Moon, the soma king, destroys the beasts and the worshipper of cows (855). Hence the *pratipad*, mixed with *amāvāsyā* only, is considered to be valid for cow-worship.

It is prescribed that worshipping of fire and cows should not be done on the *pratipad* & *dvitīyā* respectively, as that would destroy the warrior caste, wealth & family (852). Here the term '*pratipadyagnikaraṇam*' seems to prohibit the worshipping of fire (the festival of *hutāśanī*), on the full-moon day of *Phālguna*, connected with the *pratipad*, but it is to be observed on the full-moon day, mixed with *caturdaśī* day only. Similarly, the worship of cows is also prescribed on the *pratipad*, connected with *amāvāsyā* of the bright half of *Kārtika* & not on *pratipad*, mixed with the second lunar day.

Thus these are references to the two popular festivals namely- cow-worship on the *pratipad* of the bright-half of *Kārtika* & *Hutāśanī* i.e. the fire- worship on the full moon day of the *Phālguna*.

SERPENT WORSHIP :

The vow of worshipping serpents, known as *Nāgapañcamī* is mentioned in the text (856- 858). It is to be performed on the fifth lunar day. A fast is to be observed on the previous day i.e. on *caturthī*, when it is extending upto the mid-day.

IV. DĀNA :

1. ELABORATE DESCRIPTION OF NATURE OF DĀNA :

Devala has dealt very elaborately with the subject of *dāna* (giving gifts), by explaining all the different constituents & varieties of it, with minute details. Such an extensive treatment of this topic is rarely to be found in other *Smṛtis*.

DEFINITION :

The gift (*dāna*) is an act of donating of objects or wealth with faith to a qualified recipient, as laid down in the *śāstra* (891).

ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS :

The essential elements of *dāna* are (a) two causes (b) six grounds (c) six constituent elements (d) six effects (e) four varieties (f) threefold division (g) three destructive elements (892).

It is remarkable that Devala deals with each of these points, in a very systematic & comprehensive manner. He explains each of these essential elements of gifts, in the very order of enumeration & thus brings forth the nobility of giving gifts.

a) Two Causes (*Dvihetu*) :

The faith & devotion are the two causes, in the absence of which anything that is given becomes null and void (893).

b) Six Grounds (*Ṣadadhiṣṭhānam*) :

The *dharma* (piety), *artha* (motive), *kāma* (selfish desire), *vṛdā* (shame), *harṣa* (joy), *bhaya* (fear)-these six are grounds, when gifts are required to be given (894). (I) *Dharmadāna* is the real gift in which only with the notion of *dharma*, something is given to a competent person, without any consideration for its return or reward (895). Gifts, that are given due to other

causes like *artha* (motive), *kāma* (selfish desire), *vriḍā* (shame), *harṣa* (joy), *bhaya* (fear) are really not gifts (*dāna*), in the strict sense of the term. But in this world, such occasions of gift do occur, in our life. There is giving of something to other, with the renunciation of one's ownership upon it, due to above causes. Hence the author has also mentioned them as the grounds or causes that impell giving gift. (II) The gift, that is given on some occasion, with some purpose, in view & which gives only some material, benefit to the donor, is known as *arhadāna* (896). (III) The *Kāmadāna* is a gift given to an unworthy person through love or passion on the occasion of enjoying ladies, wine, hunting & dice-playing (897). (IV) When the wealth or object is given to the supplicant in an assembly, through shame or pride is called *Vriḍādāna* (898). It is only to retain one's prestige & reputation, the gift is given through shame & bashfulness to the supplicant in the assembly. Such occasions also occur in the society. (V) On seeing or hearing something agreeable, whatever is given through delight is termed as *harṣadāna* (899). (VI) While giving up of things to thieves, robbers etc. who harass the donor is designated as *bhayadāna*, as it is given through fear, with a view to avoiding the calamity, (that may befall upon him otherwise) (900).

(c) Six Constituent Elements (*Saḍaṅgam*)

There are six constituents of gifts namely-the donor, the donee, faith, the object of gifts, the time and place of gift (901). Of these, only first four are clearly indicated in the *Manusmṛti* (IV. 226-227)³⁹, while all these are to be found in the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*⁴⁰ (1.6, 1/203). But the detailed explanation of all of them is to be met with only in the present text (902-907).

The 'donor' is a person, free from *pāparogas*, pious, desirous of giving gift, free from vices, pure, & having blameless means of livelihood free from censure. While 'donee' (the worthy recipient) should be a *brāhmaṇa*, who is *triśukla* (endowed with good family descent, knowledge and means of subsistence), with insufficient means of livelihood, compassionate, without any physical defect & bereft of sexual vices.

The Distinctive Features of the Text

The attitude of greeting the supplicant with smiling face & showing honour & goodwill towards him is described as 'faith'. Whatever amount of wealth, whether more or less, one obtains by one's own efforts, by not causing trouble to anyone & without any affliction could become a worthy object of gift. The time and place, most appropriate for gift are those, when and where a particular thing is difficult to be obtained.

d) Six Effects (*Ṣaḍvipākayuk*) :

There are six kinds of effects of giving gifts. (908). (I) The gift, given to atheists, thieves, aggressors etc. becomes *duṣphala* (of bad result). (II) The gift, given without faith becomes fruitless, though it may be of great amount. (III) The gift, causing trouble to others becomes *hīna* or inferior, though it is of a higher kind. (IV) That, given with bad attitude of mind, on account of bad intention becomes *tulyaphala* or of equal nature i.e. becomes ineffective or indifferent. (V) That, endowed with all kinds of six constituent elements is called *vipula* or magnificent & (VI) one, given with compassion or pity becomes inexhaustive (*akṣaya*).

*Parāśara*⁴¹ (1.29) speaks of four such varieties of *dāna* namely, *uttama* (best), *madhyama* (middling), *adhama* (inferior) & *niṣphala* (fruitless); while *Mahābhārata*⁴² (*Śānti*. 293/18-19) mentions three such varieties namely *abhiṣṭuta* (praiseworthy), *madhyama* (middling) & *adhama* (heinous).

e) The Four Varieties :

The Vedic classification of gifts is of four kinds-(I) *dhurva* (permanent), (II) *ājasrika* (continuous), (III) *kāmya* (voluntary), (IV) *naimittika*- occasional (913-917).

(I) The construction of well, garden, lake etc. that brings about benefit for all times is *dhruva* (or permanent), (II) Whatever is given daily is called *ājasrika* (continuous), (III) The gifts, donated through the desire for progeny, victory, glory, women & children is termed as *kāmya*, (IV) That gift, which depends upon the time, ritual & object (wealth etc.) is *naimittika*. It is thus of three kinds & may or may not be

performed with *homa* (sacrificial offering). Similarly, whatever is given on such occasions like eclipse, *Saṅkrānti*, pilgrimage & birth is also called as *naimittika* gift.

f) The Three Kinds of Objects of Gift-(*Deya*) :

The objects of gift are said to be of three kinds-viz. best (*uttama*), mediocre (*madhyama*), & of a low variety (*adhama*). (918-923). Food, curds, honey, protection, cow, land, gold, horse, & elephant-these nine are gifts of the best (*uttama*) variety. The gifts of garment, house, things of enjoyment and medicines, are of a mediocre (*madhyama*) type. While shoes, swings, carts, umbrellas, vessels, seats, lamps, fuel-sticks, fruits etc. & chowry that would last for a long period-these & other numerous things are considered to be the gifts of low nature (*adhama*).

g) Three Destructive Elements :

The gifts, presented are nullified, by three destructive causes, namely-declaration of it to others, by praise of oneself & repentance for the thing, given up. Hence one should avoid these, if one wishes to obtain the real merit of the act of giving gifts (*dāna*) (924 & 925).

Thus the whole treatment of *dāna* is indeed a novel & original contribution of the author.

2. THE THINGS, NOT FIT TO BE GIVEN TO CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS :

Some objects are prohibited to be given to certain individuals (931-933). The cooked food should not be given to the householders, curds to the forest hermit & livelihood to those who live on alms. The *sūdra* should not be given the clarified butter, milk, sesamum, honey & word '*svasti*' nor should one take these things from him. The milk, gold, land, cow, sesamum, honey, ghee & all kinds of juices should not be presented to a *cāṇḍāla*.

3. THE EIGHT KINDS OF QUALIFIED *BRĀHMAṆAS* :

The gifts are to be given to the *brāhmaṇas*. The *brāhmaṇas*, who are '*pātra*' qualified for accepting gifts are described to be of eight kinds, according to their qualities & conduct. They are enumerated as *Mātra*, *brāhmaṇa*, *śrotriya*, *anūcāna*, *bhrūṇa*, *ṛṣikalpa*, *ṛṣi* & *muni*. Each latter is superior to the earlier one, with advanced qualities & character. They are then explained by pointing out characteristic features of each of them. (934-944). The *Vaikhāṇasa G.S.* (I.I) also explains briefly these eight kinds of *brāhmaṇas*.

V. PURIFICATION OF SUBSTANCES
(*DRAVYAŚUDDHI*) :

1. NATURE OF PURITY & IMPURITY
(*MEDHYĀMEDHYANIRŪPAṆA*) :

The most salient feature of Devala's treatment of *dravyaśuddhi* topic, is the elaborate elucidation of the nature of purity & impurity.

NATURE OF PURITY :

The author first enumerates the four varieties of purity and explains each of them in the order of enumeration (1052-1075).

Similarly, the four kinds of impurity are also enumerated & explained in the same systematic manner. (1079-1086).

The 'purity' (*medhyatva*) is said to have been declared by Manu to be of four kinds, namely (1) *sūci* (2) *pūta* (3) *svayam śuddha* (4) *pavitra*. While making such a division of *medhya* into four kinds, Devala declares it to be in accordance with the view of Manu. But such a division is not found in the extant *Manusmṛti*. This may reflect upon the priority of the present text to the extant text of *Manusmṛti* & it further indicates that the author may be referring to some ancient tradition of Manu, that embodied such explanation.

DEFINITIONS :

(1) The thing or object, which is fresh & stainless is said to be *śuci* (pure). (2) The purified & sanctified object is called *pūta* (refined or sanctified). (3) Whatever thing, whether movable or immovable, which is pure by its very nature is designated as *svayaṁśuddha* (self-purified). (4) The object, which is not tainted by any other object, which purifies other objects & is fit to be given honour, in the acts of worship of gods & manes is termed as '*pavitra*' (purifying).

Then several objects, that fall under the above four categories are mentioned. (1) All kinds of objects, ornaments, grains, etables & objects of enjoyment are '*śuci*' or pure only. (2) For the entire group of objects, that are prohibited, the word *aśuci*' is employed, but when such object is used in a ritual, that is considered '*pūta*', The stainless & refined object, befitting a ritual is declared as '*pūta*'. (3) For explaining the 'thing pure by nature' (*svayaṁśuddha*) the author refers to the threefold classification of 'pure objects' (*viśuddha*) namely-(1) unspoilt (*aduṣṭa*), (2) praiseworthy lit. praised by speech (*vākpraśastam*), (3) pure by nature (*svayaṁśuddha*); in accordance with the view of Manu. There is a verse in the *Manusmṛti* (V. 127)⁴³ which is of a similar import. The three points, mentioned by Devala are compared below with those in the *Manusmṛti*.

TABLE NO. 3

Devala	Manu
<i>Trīṇi pavitrāṇi</i>	<i>Trīṇi viśuddhāni</i>
1. <i>Aduṣṭam</i>	1. <i>Adṛṣṭam</i>
2. <i>Vākpraśastam</i>	2. <i>Yacca vācāpraśasyate</i>
3. <i>Svayaṁśuddham</i>	3. <i>Adbhirnirṇīkṭam</i>

Thus there is some difference in the actual import of the two texts. This difference also reflects upon the priority of the text of Devala to the extant *Manusmṛti*, in which the present view of the *Devala*-text can not be traced. Devala may be presumed to be referring to some ancient tradition of Manu.

Numerous objects, that are pure by nature (*svayaṁśuddha*) are enumerated. (4) Similarly, the objects, considered as *pavitra*, are also mentioned. The water, fire, cow-dung & clay are the best among the objects, termed as *pavitra*. They are pure & purifying all kinds of impurities of objects at all times, in all ways.

NATURE OF IMPURITY :

The impurity is first explained generally by enumerating different impure things like human bones, corpse, faeces, semen, urine etc. The other *Smṛtis*⁴⁴ like Manu (V. 135), Viṣṇu (22/83) etc. mention twelve such impure things.

The author, then classifies the impurity into four varieties : (1) *dūṣita* (vitiated), (2) *varjita*- (prohibited), (3) *duṣṭa* (soiled), (4) *kaśmala* (dirty). Each of these are also explained in an orderly manner.

(1) The pure thing, which is closely connected with the impure is called *dūṣita*, (2) The eatables & drinks, prohibited for partaking are said to be '*varjita*'. Similarly, the outcaste, *patita*, *caṇḍāla*, village hog, cock & dog are also always '*varjya*' (fit to be avoided). While the wounded person, *sūtakī* (person, observing impurity), *sūti* (the delivered lady), the intoxicated, the mad person, a woman in her course, a person, whose kinsman is dead & an impure person-all these are *varjya* (fit to be avoided) only during their specific period. (3) The sweat, tears, foam, nails, hair, the wet skin & blood, these are proclaimed to be *duṣṭa*. (4) The human bones, corpse, faeces, semen, urine, womanly discharge, the dead body (*kuṇapam*) & pus all these are instances of impurity known as *kaśmala*.

The '*dūṣita*' substances can be purified by sprinkling water, the *duṣṭa* thing, by the purificatory means of cleansing, while the '*kaśmala*' articles are to be sanctified by all means of purification, together.

Thus the author has explained the nature of purity & impurity. Such a systematic & elaborate treatment of this topic is not generally found elsewhere. This is a special contribution of the author.

2. PURIFICATION OF SUBSTANCES :

PURIFICATION OF GROUND : BHŪMIŚUDDHI :

The author also deals elaborately with the topic of purification of ground (1088-1092). The polluted ground can be of three types, namely (1) *amedhyā*-impure, (2) *duṣṭā*-soiled, (3) *malinā*-polluted or dirty. These three types of impurity, associated with the ground are explained with illustrations. Due to the delivery of a lady, death of a person, placing of dead body, residence of a *cāṇḍāla*, association with faeces, urine etc. & appearance of stench, the ground becomes impure. The ground becomes *duṣṭā*-soiled, when it is associated with dog, pig, donkey, camel etc. While by charcoal, husk, hair, bones, & ashes etc., it becomes *malinā* (polluted or dirty).

The impure (*amedhyā*) ground can be made pure by four or five means of purification, the soiled (*duṣṭā*) by two or three means only & the dirty (*malinā*), by one purificatory means only.

The five means of purification for ground, mentioned in the text are-(1) burning, (2) digging, (3) swearing with cowdung, (4) replacing with another lump of clay, (5) the fall of rain.

Manu⁴⁵ (V. 124) & Yājñavalkya⁴⁶ (1. 188) also enumerate different means of purification of the ground. The *saṁmārjana* (sweeping & sprinkling of water) & *gokramaṇa* (striding of cows), mentioned by both of them do not occur in the present text. While *vāpana* (replacing with another lump of clay) is not found in *Manu & Yājñavalkya Smṛtis*. Moreover, *dahanam* (burning) is also not found in the *Manusmṛti*.

PURIFICATION OF WATER :

This topic is also more extensively dealt with in the present text (1093-1100) than that in the *Manu & Yājñavalkya Smṛtis*.⁴⁷ The *Manusmṛti* contains one and the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, just a 1/2 verse, that deals with this topic (*Manu. S.V. 128; Yāj.S. 1.192*).

(1) Water, having smell, & taste, free from dirt, stored in the earth, not exhausted by drinking of it by cows, is said

The Distinctive Features of the Text

to be extremely pure. This is similar to *Manu & Yājñavalkya* verses, referred to above. (2) Water, drawn up from well etc. & stored properly in the clean vessels is pure, but it becomes impure, when kept overnight. (3) The water, which is not agitated & is in great quantity does not become impure, but when it is of small quantity or is drawn out of well-can be vitiated by dirty things. (4) The dirty & impure things may sometimes be found in the water of lakes, rivers, wells, tanks etc., the water of which is always unagitated, the entire water does not become impure; The water, from the part of the steps or descent (*tīrtha*) should be avoided. (5) The water in the well, pond, lake etc. may become impure due to some impure things like dead body of animal, bird etc. If the water is of less quantity, the entire water-reservoir should be emptied and the *pañcagavya* is to be poured into it. If the water is too much, it is not possible to empty the entire water, the impure thing should be removed & 100, 60 or 30 pots of water should be taken out from it to purify it. The *pañcagavya* along with recitation of *mantra* is also to be poured into it.

PURIFICATION OF GARMENTS :

The method of purification of garments of different materials, is also dealt with in the text (1124-1128). The dirty clothes, made of *tantu* (cotton fibres) should be purified firstly with water & acidic substances & later on, they should be dried up by keeping them in the sunlight or wind. The simple means of purification-drying & sprinkling of water-are to be employed generally for the garments, prepared from wool, (*ūrṇā*), silk (*kaūṣeya*), kuśa grass (*kutapa*), fine cloth (*paṭṭa*), linen (*kṣauma*), the woven silk (*dukūla*). But when they are too much polluted, the use of chaff, juices of fruits & acidic substances, may be made for purification. *Manu & Yājñavalkya*⁴⁸ also treat this topic, but in a different manner. They enumerate particular distinct purificatory articles for each kind of garment. For example, both of them, maintain that the garments, made up of *kutapa*, *paṭṭa*, *kṣauma* are to be purified with *ariṣṭaka* (soap berry), *śrīphala* (fruit of *bilva* tree),

& *gaurasarṣapa* (white mustard) respectively, while the *kaṣeya* & *āvika* garments are to be made pure by *ūṣa* (salt ground or acid) according to Manu & with salt or acid, water & *gomūtra* according to Yājñavalkya. Devala does not mention distinct purificatory substances for each kind of garment. He points out the general means of purification for all of them. Moreover, the purificatory articles, like *aṛiṣṭaka*, *gaursarṣapa* etc., mentioned by Manu & Yājñavalkya in the present connection are not found in the Devala-text.

PURIFICATION OF WOODEN SUBSTANCES :

Devala also points out the means of purifying wooden substances (1130). The wooden vessels & things can be made pure by planing and also by such means like clay, cow-dung & water. Manu (V. 115d)⁴⁹ merely refers to the planing as a means of purification of such objects. The *Visnu. Smr.* (23/5)⁵⁰ maintains that wooden substances should be given up when they are extremely polluted. But in ordinary circumstances, they are to be purified by planing.

REFERENCES

1. *Kuśāḥ kāsāḥ śaro gundro yavā dūrvā'tha balvajāḥ/ gokeśamuñjakunḍāśca pūrvābhāve paraḥ paraḥ//*
■ N.S., p. 288.
2. *kuśāḥ kāśa yavā dūrvā uśirāśca sakundakāḥ/ godhūmavrihaya mauñjā daśa darbhāḥ sabalvajāḥ//*
■ Dharmasindhu, p. 63.
3. *Kārpāsamupavītam syād viprasyordhvavṛtam trivṛt/ śaṇasūtramamayam rājño vaiśyasyāvikasautrikam//*
■ Manu. S. 2/44.
4. *Kārpāsaśaṇāvikānyupavītāni vāsāṁsi ca//*
■ Vsn. S. 27/19.
5. *Kauśam sūtram vā trivṛdyajñopavītakam//*
■ B.D.S. 1/5/8/5.

4. *Yāminyāḥ paścime yāme tyaktanidro harim smaret/ ālokyā maṅgaladravyam karmāvaśyakamācāret//*
■ Vyāsa.S. 3/2.
5. *Pratyāṇmukhastu pūrvāhṇe'parāhṇe prāṇmukhastathā/ udān mukhastu madhyāhṇe niśāyām dakṣiṇāmukhaḥ//*
■ Yama in K.K.B., p. 150 (footnote)
6. *Mūtroccārasamutsargam divā kuryādudāṇmukhaḥ/ dakṣiṇābhīmukho rātrau sandhyayośca yathā divā//*
■ Manu. S. 4/50.
7. *Ekā liṅge gude tistrastathaikattra kare daśa/ ubhayoḥ sapta dātavyā mṛdaḥ śuddhimabhīpsatā//*
Etacchaucam gṛhasthānām dviguṇam brahmacāriṇām/ triguṇam syād vanasthānām yatīnām tu caturguṇam//
■ G.D.S. 1/9/41-43.
8. *Ekā liṅge gude tistrastathaikattra kare daśa/ ubhayoḥ sapta dātavyā mṛdaḥ śuddhimabhīpsatā//*
Etacchaucam gṛhasthānām dviguṇam brahmacāriṇām/ triguṇam syād vanasthānām yatīnām tu caturguṇam//
■ Manu.S. VI/136-137.
9. *Cf. Vsn.S. 60/25-26 reads tistrastu pādyoḥ for śuddhimabhīpsatā & tu for syād in the fourth line above. ekā liṅge gude tisro daśa vāmakare tathā/ ubhayoḥ sapta dātavyā mṛdastistrastu pādayoḥ//*
gṛhastha-śaucamākhyātam triṣvanyeṣu yathākramam/ dviguṇam triguṇam caiva caturthasya caturguṇam//
Arthaprasṛtimātram tu prathamā mṛttikā smṛtā/ dvitīyā ca tṛtīyā ca tadardham parikīrtitā/ etc. etc.
■ Dakṣa. S. V.5-12.
10. *.....sā sacailā'vagāhyāpaḥ snātvā snātvā punaḥ spṛśet/Daśa dvādaśkṛtvo vā ācāmecca punaḥ punaḥ/ ante ca vāsasām tyāgastataḥ śuddhā bhavettu sāl//*
■ Uśanas in S.C., p. 121.
11. *Ātūre snānasamprāpte daśakṛtvo hyanāturaḥ/ snātvā snātvā spṛśettantu tataḥ sudhyeta āturaḥ//*
■ Yama.S. 53.
12. *utpannamātūre snānam daśakṛtvastvanāturaḥ/ snātvā snātvā spṛśedenam tataḥ śuddhyet sa āturaḥ//*
■ Bṛhatparāśara S. 8/305.

11. *Rgante'rdharucānte vā pādānte vāpi mārjayet/gāyatrī śirasā cānte mārjayitvā'ghamarṣaṇam//*
■ Dharmasindhu, p. 239.
12. *Āpoḥiṣṭhā suprasiddhā nava pādā bhavanti tel/ pādām pādām kṣiped vāri brahmahatyām vyapohati//*
Bṛhaspati S. (Recon. Ācāra. 27).
13. *Vāruṇibhyām rātrimupatiṣṭhata 'Imam me varuṇa' 'tatvā yāmīti dvābhyām/evameva prūtaḥ prāṇmukhasiṣṭhan/*
Maitribhyāmaharupatiṣṭhate 'mitrasya carṣanīdhṛto' 'mitro janānyātayaṭīti dvābhyām//
■ B.D.S., II/4/7/9-11.
14. *Śrāddhe yajñe jape home vaiśvadeve surārcane/ dhṛtatripuṇḍraḥ pūtātmā mṛtyum jayati mānavaḥ//*
■ Kātyāyana in A.M., p. 38.
Satyam śaucam japo homastīrtham devādipūjanam/ tasya vyarthamidam sarvam yastripuṇḍram na dhārayet//
■ Bh V.P. quot. in A.M., p. 38.
15. *Gṛhastho vaiśvadevākhyam karma prārabhate divā? annasya cātmanaścaiva susaṁskārāthamiṣyate//*
■ S.S., p. 46.
Śudhyartham cātmano'nnasya vaiśvadevam samācareṭ//
L.Asv.S., 1/116.
16. *Hotavye ca hute caiva pāṇisūrpasphyadārubhiḥ/ na kuryādagnidhamanam kuryād vā vyajanādinā//*
Mukhenaike dhamantyagnim mukhādhyeṣo'dhyajāyata/ nāgnim mukheneti ca yallaukike yojayanti tat//
■ Kat.S., 9/14, 15.
17. *Mukhenopadhamedagnim mukhāddhyeṣo'dhyajāyata/*
■ G.S.P., 1/70.
18. *Caturastram brāhmaṇasya trikoṇam kṣatriyasya tul/ Vartulam caiva vaiśyasya śūdrasyābhyukṣaṇam smṛtam//*
■ Atri.S., V.I.
19. *Śūdreṣu dāsagopālakulamitrārdhasirīṇaḥ/ bhojyānnā nāpitaścaiva yaścātmānam nivedayet//*
■ Yāj.S., 1/168.

- Smṛtis of Parāśara (11.20), Yama (20), Viṣṇu (57/17) contain a verse of similar import.*
20. *Yattu devalena kumbhakāro bhojyānna ityuktaḥ sa svakīyo boddhavyaḥ//*
■ K.K.N., p. 263.
 21. *Api prayāṇasamaye rātrau na prāśayed dadhil/ madhuparkapradānam tu varjayitvā tu kāmataḥ//*
■ Bd.p., quot. in G.P., p. 370.
 22. *Ajñānāt prāśya viṇmūtram surāsaṁsprṣṭameva ca/ punaḥsaṁskāramarhanti trayo varṇā dvijātayaḥ//*
■ Manu.S., 11/151.
Ajñānāttu surām pītvā reto viṇmūtrameva ca/punaḥsaṁskāramarhanti trayo varṇā dvijātayaḥ//
■ Yāj.S., 3/254.
 23. *Mādhūkamaikṣavam jñākam kaulam khārjūrapānase/ mṛdvikārasamādhviko maireyam nārikelajam//*
Amedhyāni daśaitāni madyāni brāhmaṇasya ca/ rājanyaścaiva vaiśyaśca sprṣṭvaitāni na duṣyataḥ//
■ Vsn. S., 22/83-84.
 24. *Pānasam drākṣamādhūkam khārjūram tālamaikṣavam/ madhūttham sairamāriṣṭam maireyam nālikerajam//*
samānāni vijāniyāt madyānyekādśaiva tul/ dvādaśam tu surā madyam sarveṣāmadhamam smṛtam//
■ Pulastya in Mitā. on Yāj. S., 3/253.
 25. *Surā vai malamannānām pāpmā ca malamucyate/ tasmād brāhmaṇarājanyau vaiśyaśca na surām pibet//*
Gaudī paṣṭi ca mādhvī ca vijñeyā trividhā surā/ yathaivaikā tathā sarvā na pātavyā dvijottamaiḥ//
■ manu.S., XII/94-95.
 26. Mm. Kane, P.V., H.D.S., Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 224.
 27. *Vaiśyā śūdrāśca yanmohādūpavāsam pracakrirel/ trirātram pañcarātram vā tayorvyuṣṭirna vidyate//*
■ Mbh. Anu. 106/12 (Cr. ed 13/109/12).
 28. *Puṣṭiḥ phalam/Etena kāmasyaiva niṣedhaḥ//*
■ Varṣakriyākaumudī, p. 67.

29. *Kṣamā satyam dayā dānam śaucamindriyanigrahaḥ/
devapūjā'gniharaṇam santoṣo'steyameva ca/
sarvavrateṣvayam dharmah sāmānyo daśadhā smṛtaḥ//*
■ A.P., 175/10-11.
30. *Mm. Kane, P.V., H.D.S., Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 106.*
31. *Aṣṭau tānyavrataghnāni āpo mūlam phalam payah/
hvirbrāhmaṇakāmyā ca gurorvacanamauśadham//*
■ A.P., 175/43.
32. *Aṣṭau grāsā munerbhakṣāḥ ṣoḍaśāraṇyavāsinaḥ/
dvātriṁśatam grhasṭhāyāparimitam brahmacāriṇaḥ//*
■ Ap.D.S., 2/4/9/13.
33. *Nakṣatradarśanānnaktam kecidicchanti mānavāḥ/
muhūrtonam dinam kecit pravadanti maṇiṣiṇaḥ//
nakṣatradarśanānnaktamaham manye narādhipaḥ//*
■ Bhv. P. quot. in K.K.V., p. 3.
34. *Nakṣatradarśanādūrdhvam naktasya mukhyaḥ kālāḥ/
Aham manye iti vacanāt/Itaro gaunaḥ paramatat-
venopadeśāt//*
■ H.K., p. 114
35. *Saṅkrāntyāmupavāsam ca kṛṣṇaikādaśivāsare/
candrasūryagrahe caiva na kuryāt putravān grhīḥ//*
■ Nārada-quot. in N.S., p. 26.
36. *Śuklāmeva tu kurvanti grhiṇo vaiṣṇavetarāḥ/
na kṛṣṇālaṅghane doṣasteṣāṃ vedeṣu nāradaḥ//*
■ BV. p. 4/26/38.
37. *Yāthā śuklā tathā kṛṣṇā tathā kṛṣṇa tathetarā/
tulye te manute yastu sa vai vaiṣṇava ucyate//*
■ H.K., p. 181.
38. *Śayanībodhinimadhye yā kṛṣṇaikādaśī bhavet/
saivopoṣyā grhasṭhena nānyā kṛṣṇā kadācana//*
■ BV. P. 4/26/39.
39. *Śraddhayeṣṭam ca pūrtam ca nityam kuryādatandritaḥ/
śraddhākṛte hyakṣaye te bhavataḥ svāgatairdhanaiḥ//
Dānadharmam niṣeveta nityamaṣṭikapaurtikam/
parituṣṭena bhāvenā pātramāsādyā śaktitāḥ//*
■ Manu. S.IV/226-227.

40. *Deśe kāla upāyena dravyam śraddhā samanvitam/
pātre pradīyate cet tat sakalam dharmalakṣaṇam//*
■ Yāj.S. 1/6.
- Dātavyam pratyaham pātre nimitteṣu viśeṣataḥ/
yācitenāpi dātavyam śraddhāpūtam ca śaktitāḥ//*
■ Yāj.S. 1/203.
41. *Abhigamyottamam dānamāhūtam caiva madhyamam/
adhamam yācyamānam syāt sevādānam ca niṣphalam//*
■ Parāśara S. 1/29.
42. *Abhigamya ca tat tuṣṭyā dattamāhurabhiṣṭutam/
yācitenā tu yad dattam tadāhurmadhyamam budhāḥ//
Avajāyā dīyate yat tathāivāśraddhayāpi vā/
tamāhuradhamam dānam munayaḥ satyavādināḥ//*
■ Mbh. Śānti. 293/18- 19 (Cr. ed. 12/282/19).
43. *Trīṇi devāḥ pavitrāṇi brāhmaṇānāmakalpayaṇ/
adrṣṭamadbhirmirṇiktam yacca vācā praśasyate//*
■ Manu. S. V. 127.
44. *Vasāśukramasṛṇmajjā mūtraviṭ ghrāṇakārṇaviṭ/
śleṣmāśru dūṣikā svedo dvādaśaite nṛṇām malāḥ//*
■ Manu. S.V. 135, Cf. Vsn. S. 22/81.
45. *Sammārjanopāñjanena sekanollekhanena ca/
gavām ca parivāsena bhūmiḥ śudhyati pañcabhiḥ//*
■ Manu.S. V. 124.
46. *Bhūśuddhirmārjanāddāhāt kālād gokramaṇāttathā/
sekādullekhanāllepād grham mārjanalepanāt//*
■ Yāj.S. 1/188.
47. *Āpaḥ śuddhā bhūmigatā vaiṭṛṣṇyam yāsu gorbhavet/
avyāptāścedamedhyena gandhavarṇarasānvitāḥ//*
■ Manu.S. V/128.
- Śuci gotṛptikṛtoyam prakṛtiṣṭham mahīgatam//*
■ Yāj.S. 1/192.
48. *Kauśeyāvikayorūkhaiḥ kutapānāmariṣṭakaiḥ/
Śrīphalairamśupaṭṭānām kṣaumāṇām gaura- sarsapaiḥ//*
■ Manu. S.V/120.

*Sokhairudakagomūtraiḥ suddhatyāvikaḥkaṣikam/
Saśrīphalairamśupaṭṭam sārīṣṭaiḥ kutapantathāll/
sagorasarṣapaiḥ kṣaumam.....*

■ Yāj.S. 1/186.

49.Dāravānām ca takṣaṇam//

■ Manu. S.V/115d.

50.Dāravam mṛṇamayam ca jahyāt/

.....Takṣaṇena dāravāṇām/

■ Vsn. S.23/5.

A.4 THE DISTINCTIVE EXPIATORY FEATURES

I. PRĀYAŚCITTA :

1. INTERPRETATION OF THE PHRASE 'GURUTALPAGAMANAM' :

Generally, the term 'guru' in the phrase 'gurutalpagamana' is interpreted as referring only to the father. But the author has mentioned eleven *gurus* like *Upādhyāya* etc. in the verse (10). Hence *gurvaṅganāgamana* or *gurutalpagamana* would mean in that case as, cohabitation with the wife of any of these eleven *gurus* (elderly persons). This must be understood to be the interpretation, suggested by Devala, because he states that in the offence of *gurutalpagamana*, the co-habitation, especially with the wives of *upādhyāya* (teacher), *rājā* (king) & *pitā* (father) to be the most severe heinous offence (1619). This clearly indicates that Devala not only understands, the teacher, king and father by the word *guru* in *gurutalpagamana*, but also other *gurus*, enumerated by him (verse 10). Thus the author seems to give a very wide interpretation of the above term. This is not a generally accepted meaning of it. The *Prāyaścittaviveka* (p. 134) also points out that though Devala has enumerated eleven *gurus*, the father only is to be understood here as *guru* & not *ācārya* etc., as the cohabitation with his wife would not be equal to *gurutalpagamana* & is understood as 'anupātaka'.

The above agreement between the import of *sūtra* in the *prāyaścitta* section (1613) & the verse in the *ācāra* section (verse 10), about eleven *gurus* suggests that this *sūtra* portion of Devala-text & the verses in the first chapter, may be probably of the same period of composition. This reflects upon the antiquity of the verse-content of text like *sūtra* portion of it.

2. EXPIATION FOR DRINKING SURĀ :

The expiation for drinking *surā* is death only for a *brāhmaṇa*. But the method by which the death is to be effected, is differently mentioned in various *Smṛtis*. Manu¹ (IX.91), Bṛhaspati (*Prāya*45), Āpastamba (1.9.25.3), Gautama (24) suggest that the wine, shining like fire, heated, upto high

temperature, should be drunk by the person drinking *surā*. Manu² (XI.92), Yājñavalkya (3.253), Bṛhaspati (*prāya*. 46) also point out other alternatives of drinking boiling hot urine of cow, water, milk, ghee, or liquid cowdung, until he dies by drinking it.

But Devala has not referred to any of the above articles for effecting death. He ordains that the *brāhmaṇa*, drinking *surā*, can be purified by destroying his body by drinking red-hot liquid of any such metal like silver, copper, tin or lead (1633). This drinking of liquid metal, as an expiation, is not met with in the *Smṛtis*, mentioned previously.

3. WINE ALLOWED EVEN FOR BRĀHMAṆA DURING SACRIFICES :

The wine is completely prohibited for a *brāhmaṇa* & even an expiation of ending life is suggested for him who drinks it. Yet there is one option (1634). It is prescribed that the wine, that comes, unasked (in the sacrifice) does not spoil the *brāhmaṇa* belonging to the *Vājasaneyi* recension of *śukla Yajurveda*. These *brāhmaṇas*, can drink the wine offered to them when unasked for, during the sacrifice & no sin accrues from it. (cf. V.D.S. 23/13).

The express reference to the *Vājasaneyins* & their peculiar custom of partaking *surā* in the sacrifice, reflect upon the prevailing custom of the society. It may be noted that even "Meghasthanes (p. 69) & Strabo (XV.I. 53) note that Indians did not drink wine except at sacrifices (in the 4th century B.C.)³". It can be maintained that the drinking of *surā* in the sacrifices, was practised only by the *Vājasaneyi brāhmaṇas*, during the period of the present text.

4. DIFFERENCE BETWEEN DEVALA & MANU REGARDING CONTACT WITH PATITA :

Manu (XI 181)⁴ maintains that the person, associated with *patita* also becomes *patita*, only after one year. This first part of the verse of Manu is clear, but the second half is somewhat ambiguous & is differently interpreted by Kullūka & Govindarāja. Govindarāja interprets that he becomes *patita*, after one year, if he has relations of officiating at his sacrifice,

teaching him & having marriage relations with him. But he does not become *patita*, by merely having such relations as sitting on the same conveyance or seat or eating with him. Kullūka, however, on the authority of some *Smṛtis* like Devala, Baudhāyana etc., interprets that the person becomes *patita*, after one year, on having such relations, as sitting on the same conveyance; or seat or eating along with him; but by such relations as becoming his priest, teacher, or having matrimonial relations, he immediately falls from his status & becomes a *patita*.

Thus the verse of Manu is differently interpreted by the two commentators. The verses of Devala (1648 & 1649) treat the above subject of degradation by the contact with *patita*, more clearly. Even Kullūka had to take recourse to the verse of Devala to explain & clarify the view of Manu. Devala prescribes that the person becomes *patita*, after one year by having constant & continuous (*sārvakālīka*) contact with him, by performing such acts like dining, being with him on the same seat or bed. He further adds that by officiating at sacrifice, having marriage relations, teaching *veda* to him & taking food along with him, the person, no doubt immediately becomes *patita*. This sense of 'instantaneity' or 'promptness' in degradation is not clearly seen in the *Manusmṛti*.

5. SIN IN STEALING BOOKS ETC. :

Sins, associated with stealing the various objects are mentioned in the text. The stealing of books and various materials, is also referred to. The stealer of books or manuscripts, the cover, the thread, holder, wrapper etc. becomes very sinful. He becomes completely dumb on this earth.

This reflects upon the condition of the society. Not only the manuscripts, but also various materials of it, were stolen. This indicates that there was much scarcity of both of these.

II. ANUGRAHA :

1. RELAXATION OR CONDONATION IN THE PRESCRIBED EXPIATION :

Several expiations are prescribed for eliminating sins, but the weak may not be able stand them. Hence for the sake of

protection of masses, the host of learned Brahmins, the knowers of *Dharma*, are required to suggest concession or relaxation in the prescribed penance (1885-1889). This concession should not be awarded by one person, though proficient in *Vedas*, but assembly or group of knowers of *Dharma* are authorised to prescribe it. This is opposed to Yājñavalkya⁵ (1.9), who alternatively allows to accept the verdict, even of one person, expert in spiritual knowledge.

The concession varies in accordance with severity or other wise of the offence. It has not to be declared through the force of any such element like love, greed, fear or ignorance. The rule of relaxation in the prescribed penance is to be resorted to only, when, it amounts to danger to the life of the person, undergoing it & not at all, in case of a healthy person.

3. CIRCUMSTANCES TO BE CONSIDERED FOR THE PRESCRIPTION OF A PARTICULAR TYPE OF PENANCE:

Many circumstances are to be considered for imposing the expiation on the sinful. (1890-1907). The caste, capacity, strength, wealth, qualities, age & sex of the performer, the number of times, the sin is committed, whether the act has been done with intention or without it; whether it is committed secretly or publicly, the time & place of the sin that is perpetrated- these & several other conditions are to be taken into consideration.

The following rules are recommended for prescribing the penance.

- (1) The half of the penance, prescribed to *brāhmaṇa* should be enjoined for *kṣatriya*, half of that of *kṣatriya* to the *vaiśya* & half of that of *vaiśya* to the *śūdra*. Thus the hierarchical, caste-wise distinction is made in respect of prescription of penance.
- (2) Whatever expiation has been ordained for a sinful act in public, the twentieth part of it, has been prescribed for performing it in secret, & the thirtieth or sixtieth part thereof according to his caste.
- (3) The expiation prescribed for committing a sin without

intention, was doubled, when it was perpetrated with intention.

- (4) The penance could be efficacious provided, it is prescribed in case of a sin, perpetrated only once, without intention but no penance whatsoever is deemed fit to wash away the sin when it is committed repeatedly with intention. The author however refers to the view of others, who prescribe an expiation, even in such cases of intentional commitment of sin.
- (5) The author also points out that when sin is committed repeatedly, the expiation at the second time, should be double. It should be three times more, if committed thrice, but there is no expiation to purify him, if it is perpetrated for four times.
- (6) If the penance is not performed at a proper time & much time has elapsed after the commitment of sin, the author ordains that the penance is to be the double of what is ordinarily prescribed & punishment by the king is also double. This shows that expiation was to be undergone within the prescribed limit of period. In case of some sins, punishment & penance, both were prescribed for the sinner.
- (7) It may be added that even the monetary or financial condition of a person is to be taken into consideration, while prescribing certain expiations. For example, while prescribing the *svarṇakṛcchra* (2151) it is mentioned that the king or a wealthy person (*mahāprabhu*) should give gold of the amount of a *varāha* (a coin, equal to five *rūpakas*. One *rūpaka*==one *māṣa* of five *guṇjās*), half of it, should be donated by a middle class person, & half of that of the latter, should be prescribed for other ordinary people.
- (8) The decision of the assembly about prescription of expiation should be unanimous as far as possible.

3. DUTY OF A KING AS AN IMPOSER OF *KṚCCHRA* :

The king declares some punishment & penalty for the guilty person. Similarly, it is also his duty to impose a particular expiation upon the criminal. According Devala (1893), the king is the imposer of *kṛcchras*, the *dharmapāṭhaka* (the religious adviser) is the indicator or adviser of it, while the sinner is the subject of expiation & king's officers are the protectors i.e. executive authorities of the prescribed expiation. This verse suggests that like punishments, even expiations also were given great importance by the king & he had even officers that carefully supervised over the proper performance of it, by the sinner.

Moreover, the *brāhmaṇas* could even prescribe *prāyaścitta*, with the consent of the king. In respect of minor lapses, the *brāhmins* alone could prescribe it, without consultation with the king. Only in case of great sins, the king & the learned *brāhmaṇas*, could declare the penal penance, after the due consideration of circumstances (1891).

III. DESCRIPTION OF *KṚCCHRAS* :

There is enumeration of 15 kinds of penances (1908-1910). Eventhough the *cāndrāyana* is not mentioned in it, it is also dealt with in detail. The following peculiarities are generally found in the description of these *kṛcchna*.

- (1) The procedure of most of them is described in detail.
- (2) The importance of several *kṛcchras* is emphasized by enumerating numerous sins, that they can dispel.
- (3) Even the episodes, connected with some *kṛcchas* are also narrated to extol them.
- (4) One or more substitutes or *pratyāmnāyas* are also suggested.
- (5) But the verses, seem to be of a very late origin & display a great influence of *Paurāṇic* style or narration. There is explicit reference to the *Viṣṇusahasranāmā* & the *Gajendramokṣa* (1929).

Most of these verses are from the *prayaścitta* section of Hemādri. Mm.P.V. Kane⁶ remarks, "the fourth volume, which

deals with *prāyaścitta* does not appear to be the work of Hemādri.....". It seems that Hemādri might have entrusted the work of compilation of that volume to some learned scholars, who prepared & composed it in his name. Hence there is the beginning-*Athedānīm hemādrīkāreṇa lokopakārārtham....*" It was previously noted that even Reṇukācārya (1266 A.D.) seems to be familiar with the verse, quoted in the present section of Hemādri. As regards the authenticity of the present verses, it can be definitely maintained that the later digest-writers of 17th & 18th century A.D. like Kamalākara, Vaidyanātha etc. have regarded the above section of Hemādri & the verses, therein, as most authentic and reproduced them in their works. Even Mm.P.V. Kane also had made use of the said section of Hemādri & the verses of Devala therein, in his fourth volume of *H.D.S.* Hence, it could safely be concluded that these verses, belong to Devala, & their authenticity is unquestionable.

IV. *TĪRTHAYĀTRĀ* :

1. *TĪRTHAYĀTRĀ* AS A MEANS OF EXPIATION :

Pilgrimage is also admitted as one of the means of extrication of sin. Even after unknowingly committing sin like *bhrūṇahatyā*, the person can be free from it by great sacrifices or by visiting sacred places (2155). *Viṣṇu S.* (35/6)⁷ also points out that the person, committing great sin can be purified by *Aśvamedha* sacrifice or by visiting all the sacred places on the earth. The difference between Devala & Viṣṇu is evident. When the person visits the various sacred places, like rivers, mountains, & other places of pilgrimage, he becomes absolved of all sins & obtains happiness. The various sacred places, namely rivers, mountains, *tīrthas*, *āyatanas* etc. throughout India are enumerated. (2156-62). It is thus significant that the topic of pilgrimage is expatiated in the text. The *Viṣṇu Smṛti*⁷ (36/6) & the *Parāśara Smṛti*⁸ (XII. 58) etc. merely refer to the visiting of sacred places to be a means of purification from sin. The *Viṣṇu Smṛti*⁹ (1/16-179) includes the *tīrthānusaraṇa* among the *Dharmas* common to all.

"In the *Sūtras* & ancient *Smṛtis*, like those of Manu &

Yājñavalkya, *Tīrthas* do not occupy a very prominent position. But in the *Mahābhārata* & the *Purāṇas*, they are highly lauded & placed even above sacrifices¹⁰. This would reflect upon the date of the present portion of the text, which may be later than the ancient *Sūtras* & *Smṛtis*, but may belong to the period of the *Mahābhārata* & the *Purāṇas*, the period, when such ideas were current in the society. This does not affect the theory of placing Devala in the early centuries of the Christian era (if not earlier still).

2. MUṆḌANA ON TĪRTHAS :

It is remarkable that the author does not refer to *muṇḍana* in the *sūtra*, where he mentions the rites, generally to be followed on *tīrthas* (2164). He clearly mentions the religious acts, like the practice of certain vows, restrictive rules, fasting, bathing in the sacred water for three days, by residing there for three days. The omission of *muṇḍana* in the *sūtra* portion of the text, may indicate that it was introduced in a later period. The verses (2181-2187) that refer to *muṇḍana* are comparatively of a later period than the *sūtra* portion of the present text.

3. PRACTICAL RULES ABOUT WORSHIPPING & CIRCUMAMBULATING :

Some rules about worshipping & circumambulating the deity are interesting and are of practical necessity for a religious person. The devotee performs various auspicious religious acts on *tīrtha* like-beholding the deity (i.e. *darśana*), touching it, worshipping & bathing it with water mixed with ghee. Among these acts, the performance of each latter is superior mode of worship to each earlier (2190).

The devotee would also wish to circumambulate the deity. Hence the practical information about the number of times, the *pradakṣiṇā* is to be made for each deity, is also dealt with in verses (2192 & 2193). The *pradakṣiṇā* is to be performed for one, seven, three & four times, respectively for the deities, namely-goddess, the Sun, Vināyaka & Viṣṇu, while it should be half only in case of Śiva, as the *somasūtra* (the channel

through which the sacred water flows), is not to be crossed over.

The places, where *japa* (repeating of *mantra*), *homa* (offering of oblation), & *namaskāra* (prostrating the deity) are not to be performed in the temple are mentioned (2194 & 2195). They should not be practised by sitting (1) in front of the deity, (2) at the back side, (3) at the left side, (4) in its proximity, (5) within the *garbhamandira* (inner part of the temple). If the above acts are performed in a place in front, back or left side of the deity, the person secures death, decay or destruction respectively. They are only to be practised in the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* (the open hall), of the temple, sitting to the right side of the deity & not to the left. These rules are quite natural, because, if a person performs the acts in the above prohibited manner, the other persons would be deprived of their right of worshipping etc. of the deity, as that would obstruct their perfect vision of the deity. Thus by sitting in the open hall, one & all can at ease, practise the various acts, as long as they wish, without obstructing others, performing those acts.

V. PAÑCAGAVYA :

1. MEANS OF PURIFICATION :

The *pañcagavya* is the most important purifying or sanctifying article, indispensable in all forms of expiations. It can purify the sinner from the minor lapses. The author has given great importance to it, while prescribing the expiation, for the purification of a person, troubled by the *mleccha*.

2. ALLOWED EVEN FOR ŚŪDRAS AND PATITAS :

The *Smṛtis* like Atri¹¹ (297) & Viṣṇu (54/7) mention that the śūdra, drinking *pañcagavya* & the *brāhmaṇa*, drinking *surā* are equally sinful & both reside in hell forever. While Devala maintains that *pañcagavya* is prohibited to be given to the ladies, *śūdras* & *patitas*, but optionally allows it to be given, without the recitation of *Mantras*. (1870).

3. INGREDIANTS (1871-1874) :

The five deities, namely Varuṇa, Agni, Soma, Vāyu & Sūrya reside respectively in the five ingredients namely- cow's urine, dung, milk, curds & ghee. These ingredients should be taken of cows of different colours. The urine, dung, milk, curds & ghee, should be used of cows of red, white, yellow, blue & black colours respectively. The colours of cows, whose above ingredients are to be used, are differently mentioned in the *Parāśarasmṛti* (11. 28-29)¹². They should be of cows of black, white, dark red (*tāmra*), red (*ratkta*), brown (*kapilā*) respectively or all the ingredients may be taken of *kapilā* cow.

The quantity of each ingredients of *pañcagavya*, is also mentioned differently in the *Smṛtis*. The cow's urine, dung & *kuśa*-water of six *mātrās* (a standard measure), ghee & milk of three *mātrās*, the curds of ten *mātrās*-this is the proportion of each ingredient, according to Devala (1874). While Parāśara¹³ (11.29 & 30) states that the cow's urine of one *pala*, curds of three *palas*, ghee of one *pala*, cow-dung of half of the thumb, the milk of 7 *palas* & *kuśa*-water of one *pala* should be taken for it. Atri¹⁴ (296) maintains that cow's urine, ghee, milk & curds should be two, four, six and eight times more than the proportion of cow-dung in the *pañcagavya*.

VI. MLECCHITAŚUDDHI : PURIFICATION OF PERSONS, CONVERTED :

1. A NOVEL CONTRIBUTION :

Devala deals with the problem of purification of persons, kidnapped & ill-treated by the *mlecchas*. This is an important & novel contribution of the author to the extant literature on *Dharmaśāstra*. This is an attempt to solve, one of the most important & irritating social problems.

The *Mlecchas* (i.e. Muslims, in the present context) invaded India in the 8th century through the province of Sindh & troubled the Hindus, living there in various ways. The Hindus were forcibly carried away and harassed by compelling them to eat or drink forbidden articles. People were required to talk, dine & live for several periods along with them. Ladies were

also similarly oppressed by forcing them to perform the undesirable acts. The rape or seduction of Hindu ladies by *Mlecchas* was also rampant.

Hence the problem of purification of all such oppressed persons was one of the pertinent problems of the society. Devala tries to solve this problem, by suggesting very simple & liberal rules of purification. There is no other *Smṛtikāra*, that deals with this problem with so much detail as Devala has done. The various expiations are prescribed for the persons, belonging to all the four *varṇas*. The expiation also varies in accordance with duration of time, spent along with the *Mleccha* & the intensity or seriousness of the sin-perpetrated. Similarly, the question of purification of ladies, the children & aged people is also considered. The specific penances & alternative rules are mentioned for the same. Above all, it is noteworthy that all expiations are also very simple, practical & easy. It is most remarkable & categorical opinion of the author that all people can be purified, even though they might be associated with the *Mlecchas*, for about 20 years.

TEXTUAL--ARRANGEMENT OF THIS CHAPTER, IN ITS RECONSTRUCTED FORM :

The printed text of *Devalasmṛti* contains verses dealing with the problem of purification of the persons, troubled by the *Mlecchas* & a few other verses, dealing with miscellaneous topics like *āśauca*, *kṛcchra* etc. In the *Mlecchitaśuddhiprakaraṇa* of the present reconstructed text, the verses, dealing with the *Mlecchitaśuddhi* topic only are incorporated, while the other verses, of the printed text are accommodated in those respective chapters of the present reconstructed text, at proper places, suiting the context & relevancy. All these are really the verses of Devala & have been so handed down through the manuscripts of the *Devala-smṛti*. Only a few of these verses of Devala are found quoted in some works on *Dharma-śāstra*. The variant readings of some of these verses, found in those works are noted in the portion of text (vol.I, pages 246-253).

However, it is a curious fact that the printed *Devalasmṛti* is a collection of unconnected verses, dealing with the important

subject of purification of the persons, troubled by *Mlecchas*. But the entire topic is not dealt with in it, in a systematic & well-arranged manner. There seems to be no logical & sequential link among the various groups of verses in it. Hence an attempt is made in the present text, to put forth the text of the printed *Devalasmṛti*, in the most orderly manner, by re-arranging the various groups of verses on it. The duration of time of association with the *Mlecchas*, is mentioned in the printed text. That is taken as the important thread to link together & rearrange the text. The verses, in the present text are arranged as representing the expiation for the period, starting from the smallest unit of one day, upto the highest limit of 20 years, in a gradually increasing manner. In the printed text, there is no such plan in the order of verses.

3. CONTENTS :

The sages approached Devala, the best among sages, sitting at ease on the bank of river Sindhu and asked him as to how the persons, belonging to the four castes, carried away by the *Mlecchas* can be purified & what kind of expiations are to be performed by them, (1813-1815), in order to bring them back to their original fold.

Then Devala speaks out various expiations to be undergone by the four *varṇas*, on their association with the *Mlecchas* for just one day right upto the period of 20 years.

EXPIATION FOR ASSOCIATION OF VARYING DURATION: 1 TO 20 DAYS :

The *pañcagavya* & gift are the expiations, for having association for five days, by way of conversation & taking food with him. (1) The cow's urine, (2) cow-dung, (3) cow's urine, cow-dung & milk, (4) cow's urine, cow-dung, milk & curds, (5) *pañcagavya* with all ingrediants (including ghee) are the expiations for one to five days respectively. (1818-1820). Later on the author also enjoins the *pādaḥṣṭra*, the *parāka* & the *atikṣṣṭra* for staying along with the *Mleccha*, for 10, 15 & 20 days respectively.

(1820-1822). The *brāhmaṇa* kidnapped by the *Mlecchas* for 5 to 20 days can be purified by the *pañcagavya* (1823).

ONE MONTH TO ONE YEAR :

The person may be forcibly carried away by a *Mleccha* & thus may be compelled to live with him for the period of one month to one year. For purification, a *sūdra* should undergo the *cāndrāyaṇa* for the residence of one year, the *parāka* for six months, the half of a *parāka* for three months & the *pādaḥṣṭra* for one month. The 3/4th of the above expiation is prescribed for *kṣatriya*, 1/2 of it for the *vaiśya* & 1/4 of it for the *brāhmaṇa* (1824-1827).

PERFORMING THE PROHIBITED ACTS FOR ONE YEAR:

The *Mlecchas* also compelled the Hindus to drink or eat that was prohibited, after kidnapping them. The Hindu person may even cohabit with the lady, not fit to be cohabited. On performing such acts for one year, the *brāhmaṇa* is purified by undergoing the penance called *cāndrāyaṇa* with *parāka*, the *kṣatriya* by *parāka* and *pādaḥṣṭra*, the *vaiśya* by half of a *parāka* and the *sūdra* by *parāka* for five days (1829-1831).

ENSLAVEMENT BY MLECCHAS FOR ONE MONTH OR FOR ONE YEAR :

The *Mlecchas*, *Cāṇḍālas*, thieves (*dasyus*) would enslave the people & compel them to perform such un auspicious or ghastly acts like (1) killing of animals like cows etc., (2) cleaving of the left out food & even eating of the same, (3) partaking the flesh of donkey, camel, village pig etc, (4) the contact with their ladies & taking food along with them.

The twice-born person (i.e. *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya* & *vaiśya*), who lives in the above circumstances, along with the *Mleccha*, for one month, is sanctified by the penance of *prājāpatya* & the *āhitāgni* by a *cāndrāyaṇa* or *parāka*. If the stay is for one year, the *cāndrāyaṇa* & *parāka* both these penances are enjoined. A *sūdra*, living for one year in the above condition,

should practise the *yāvaka* for 15 days & the *kṛcchra pāda* (i.e. *pādakṛcchra*) on his association for one month (1837-1841).

ASSOCIATION & RESIDENCE-FOR ONE TO FOUR YEARS :

If a person partakes the food of the *Mleccha*, is in contact or association with him & resides with him for one year or more, he can be pure, after three days. For contact for period above one year, he has to take ablutions in the *Gaṅgā*, even after undergoing the prescribed expiation. Here the author remarks that the expiation can be prescribed for a person, associated with the *Mleccha* for about 4 years, & after the lapse of this time-limit of four years, there is no valid penance or expiation for his purification. The person becomes the *Mleccha* only by nature & there is no restoration of such a person to the original status (1842-1846).

FROM FIVE TO TWENTY YEARS :

But the above statement of Devala is in conflict with the another set of verses (1849-1851), that prescribe expiation also for persons, forcibly seized by the *Mlecchas* & residing with them for the period of 5 to 20 years.

The expiation, in the form of two *prājāpatya* or *cāndrāyana* penances is laid down for such persons. For mere residence with the *Mleccha* (without any contamination), one expiation (*kṛcchra*) only is to be undergone. But it is strictly proclaimed that there is no purification of person, having association with the *Mleccha*, for the period, more than 20 years (1849-1851).

ON KIDNAPPING BY *MLECCHAS*, DURING JOURNEY THROUGH FOREST :

The *Mlecchas* also kidnapped the persons, on their journey through forest. Due to fear or hunger, they were compelled to eat, what was forbidden. In such cases, they can be purified by undergoing a penance, after returning to the country of their origin. The *brāhmaṇa* should undergo one penance

(*kṛcchra*) while the remaining three *varṇas* should undergo respectively 1/2, 3/4 & 1/4 of the expiation, prescribed for the *brāhmaṇa*. (1854 & 1855).

FOR TOUCHING & SITTING WITH *MLECCHA* IN ASSEMBLY :

For touching & sitting along with the *Mleccha* in an assembly, the expiation of bath with clothes on & a fast for one day is prescribed (1856).

PURIFICATION OF LADIES : ON PARTAKING FOOD :

The lady of *brāhmaṇa* caste, serving food to the *Mleccha* & eating forbidden food, can be pure by the penance of *parāka*, while the ladies of the other castes are purified by gift. The ladies, that are not raped & have not eaten the prohibited food, are purified by three days, for having merely partaken the food of the *Mleccha* (1861- 1862).

COHABITATION WITH *MLECCHA* :

A lady forcibly raped by the *Mleccha* can not be purified, if she becomes pregnant by him. But the lady, who is not impregnated by that act of cohabitation, attains purity after three days (of immediate menstruation). However, later on, the penance, called *sāntapana* is enjoined for purification of a lady, who is pregnant by the *Mleccha*, through force or will & partakes food that is prohibited. The lady, raped by an *asavarṇa* is not pure, as long as she does not give up that taint (i.e. till she menstruates). But after her period of monthly flow, she becomes pure like the stainless gold. A woman, in her monthly course, touched by a *Mleccha* or other person can be pure, after three days by bath & drinking of *pañcagavya* (1863-1869).

4. THE PITIABLE SOCIAL CONDITION :

Thus the entire chapter reflects upon a very pitiable social condition. The Hindus had to suffer a lot, due to the ill-

treatment by the *mlecchas*. (1) The kidnapping of ordinary people whether male or female, (2) looting them on their way of journey through forest, (3) forcible seduction of ladies, (4) compulsion to eat the forbidden food & flesh even of donkey, camel, village-pig etc., (5) killing of cows etc.-these are some of the dark pictures of society, hinted at by the present text. The religious and social life was entirely at stake, during the above period. A state of anarchy or chaos seems to have been prevalent, due to the invasion & oppression by the *Mlecchas*.

5. DEFINITE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND :

The present chapter of the text has a definite historical background. It is not merely a fictitious narration by the author. Events, narrated in the text had actually taken place, in History of Ancient India. The line '*sindhu-tīre sukhāsīnam...*' throws much light upon it. It was previously noted¹⁵ that the scholars like Mm.P.V. Kane, Mm.S.V. Ketkar, Dr. A.S. Altekar, found here a reference to the situation in Sindh, during 8th century A.D. Mm.S.V. Ketkar supplies the historical information about vanquishing of Hindu king Dahir by Muhammad Kassam, the Muslim king & the subsequent enslavement & forcible conversion of the Hindus. Ultimately in about 732 A.D., the Rajaputas were successful in defeating and driving away the Muslims.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS :

Thus Devala, the social reformer of Sindh tried to solve the pertinent, irritating social & religious problem, for the re-establishment & stability of society of Hindu fold. Even during the orthodox ancient period, Devala has exhibited a very pragmatic outlook, by his attempt of restoration of the polluted Hindu society. In short, this portion of the text has great historical, social & religious significance & is an ancient authority in the matter of *parāvartana* or *śuddhi* (re-admittance of persons, converted to other religions). It sets forth an ideal example for the Modern social reformers, who advocate readmittance of persons, converted to Islam & other religions, through force or will and subsequently wish to return to the

Hindu Religion. To conclude, the above discussion definitely extends a helping hand to those unfortunate ones, who are the victims of forcible conversion.

REFERENCES

1. *Surām pītvā dvijo mohādagñivarnām surām pibet/ Tayā sa kāye nirdagdhe mucyate kilbiṣāttataḥ//*
■ Manu.S. (XI. 91).
Surāpāne kāmākṛte jvalantīm tām vinikṣipet/ Mukhe tayā ca nirdagdhe mṛtaḥ śuddhimavāpnuyāt//
■ B.S. (Recon. Prāy. 45)
Surāpo'gnisparśām surām pibet//
■ Ap.D.S. (1/9/25/3).
Surāpasya brāhmaṇasyoṣṇāmāsīnceyuh surāmāsyē mṛtaḥ śuddhyet//
■ G.D.S. (3/5/1).
2. *Gomūtramagnivarnam vā pibedudakmeva vā/ payo ghṛtam vāmarāṇād gośakṛdrasameva vā//*
■ Manu S. XII/92.
Surāmbughṛtagomūtrapayasāmagnisannibham/ surāpyanyatamam pītvā maraṇācchuddhimṛcchatī//
■ Yāj. S.3/253.
Gomūtramagnivarnam vā pibet salilameva vā/ kuryād vānaśanam tāvadyāvatprāṇairviyujyate//
■ B.S. (Recon. Prāy. 46).
3. Mm.Kane, P.V., H.D.S., Vol. II, pt. II, p. 798.
4. *Saṁvatsareṇa patati patitena sahācaran/ Yājanādhyāpanādyaunāna tu yānāsanāsanāt//*
■ Manu. S. (XII/181).
5. *Catvāro vedadharmajñāḥ parṣat traividyaṁeva vā/ Sā brūte yam sa dharmāḥ syādeko vādhyātmavittamaḥ//*
■ Yāj. S. (1/9).
6. H.D.S., Vol. I, pt. II, p. 749.

7. *Aśvamedhena śuddhyeyurmahāpātakinastvime/
prthivyām sarvatīrthānām tathānusaraṇena ca//*
■ Vsn. S. 35/6.
8. *Cāturvedyopapannastu vidhivadbrahmaghātake/
samudrasatugamanaprāyaścittam vinirdiśet//*
■ Parāśara. S. (XII/58).
9. *Kṣamā satyam damaḥ śaucam
dānamindriyaśaṁyamah/
Ahimsā guruśuśrūṣā tīrthānusaraṇam dayā//*
■ Vsn.S. III/16.
10. Mm.Kane, P.V., H.D.S., Vol. IV, p. 561.
11. *Pāñcagavyam pibecchūdro brāhmaṇastu surām pibet/
Ubhau tau tulyadoṣau ca vasato narake ciram//*
■ Atri.S. (297).
*Pāñcagavyam pibecchūdro brāhmaṇastu surām pibet/
Ubhau tau narakam yāto mahārauravasamjñitam//*
■ Vsn.S. 54/7.
12. *Gomūtram kṣṇavarṇāyāḥ śvetāyā gomayam haret/
payaśca tāmravarṇāyā raktāyā dadhi cocyatel/
kapilāyā ghṛtam grāhyam sarvam kāpilameva vā//*
■ Parāśara.S. (11/28-29).
13. *Gomūtrasya palam dadyād dadhnastripalamucyatel/
ājyasyaikapalam dadyādaṅguṣṭhārdham tu gomayam//
kṣīram saptapalam dadyāt palamekam kuśodakam///*
■ Parāśara S. (11/29-30).
14. *Śakṛddvigunāgomūtram sarpirdadyāccaturguṇam/
kṣīramasṭaguṇam deyam pāñcagavyam tathā dadhil//*
■ Atri.S. (296).
15. Ch. III, p. 10 for details.

B. THE DISTINCTIVE SOCIAL FEATURES

VARṆAJĀTIVIVEKA :

1. DUTIES OF BRĀHMAṆA-THE PERFORMANCE OF KĀMYA & NAIMITTIKA SACRIFICES :

The author mentions & explains the prominent duties of the *Brāhmaṇas* (60-63). They are *adhyayana* (learning), *adhyāpana* (teaching), *yajana* (performing sacrifices), *yājana* (officiating at the sacrifices). While explaining the term *Yajana*, he mentions that it constitutes the performance of the sacrifices, that are *kāmya* (voluntary) & *naimittika* (periodical). Thus according to Devala, the sacrifices are not *nitya* or compulsory.

“The *Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana* (1.6-7) refers to the two views that *ādihāna* (kindling of *śrauta* fires) is *nitya* (obligatory) & the other view (discussed by Baudhāyana) that it is merely *kāmya* (to be performed only if one desires the fulfilment of certain objects)”¹. Thus there are two views, regarding sacrifices, (1) that they are *nitya* (obligatory), (2) that they are *kāmya* (voluntary). Kātyāyana² (*Kat.S.S.1/2/10-13*) has properly put forth these two views, regarding sacrifices. The commentator Karkācārya has explained them by quoting two kinds of Vedic injunctions, suggesting the compulsory & voluntary character of sacrifices. Thus according to Kātyāyana, the sacrifices like *Agnihotra*, *Dharṣapūrṇamāsa* etc. are *nitya* or compulsory. Even the *Bhagavadgītā* (18/3-7)^{2A} discusses this point about sacrifices & maintains them to be *nitya*. Some *Smṛtis*³ include the 7 *pākayajña*, the 7 *haviryajña* & 7 *somayajña* *saṁsthās*, among sacraments & thus suggest them to be compulsory. Śaṅkarācārya⁴ has discussed these two views, regarding sacrifices, like *Agnihotra* etc., being *nitya* (compulsory) & *kāmya* (voluntary). He maintains, like the *sūtrakāra*, *Bādarāyaṇa* that they are compulsory & helpful in obtaining salvation, when performed without the desire for fruit.

But Devala, as mentioned previously, supports the view of sacrifices, being *kāmya* (voluntary) & not *nitya* (compulsory). Thus according to Devala, the sacrifices can be useful in getting wordly prosperity, but like the *Sāṅkhyas*, he seems to maintain

that the sacrifices would be of no use for *niḥśreyasa* (spiritual uplift). Thus Śaṅkarācārya maintains the performance of sacrifices to be compulsory even for the spiritual knowledge. While according to Devala, following the *Sāṅkhya* doctrine⁵, the sacrifices are meant only for the wordly purposes & are not necessary to be practised by the aspirant for liberation. This is an important distinction between Śaṅkarācārya & the *Sāṅkhya* follower like Devala etc. For this reason only, it seems that Śaṅkarācārya expressed his dissent for Devala's inclination towards the *Sāṅkhya* doctrine, in the commentary on the *Brahmasūtras*.⁶

2. STATUS OF A ŚŪDRA :

The *Smṛtis*⁷ generally mention the serving of the three *varṇas* to be the primary duty of a *śūdra*. The other occupations of arts & crafts could be followed by him as an optional duty, if he is unable to follow his primary duty or only at the time of distress. But the duties of the *śūdra*, mentioned by Devala, reflect upon his improved social status. According to Devala, it seems that the *śūdra* could follow, even during ordinary course, the occupations like agriculture, cattle-rearing, selling of commodities, dancing, singing etc., which are common to the *vaiśya*. He is also allowed to play upon the musical instruments like flute, lute, drums, tabor etc. (94-99).

But yet, it is remarkable that the duty of the *vaiśya*, according to Devala is to make others to carry loads (*bhārodvāhana*), while that of the *śūdra* is to carry loads (*bhārodvāhana*). This distinction reflects upon the sense of slavery, associated with the duties of the *śūdra*.

3. NUMBER OF ANULOMAS :

Devala explicitly mentions that the *anulomas* are four in number. They are *Savarṇa*, *Ambaṣṭha*, *Pāraśava* (or *Niṣāda*) & *Ugra* (53-54) (Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, III.7. 21-25). Manu⁸ (10/6- 10) & Yājñavalkya (I. 91-92) mention them to be six in number. Manu explains only three of them viz. *Ambaṣṭha*, *Niṣāda* (or *Pāraśava*) & *Ugra*; while the other three are not given specific

names. Yājñavalkya names these six *anulomas* as *Murdhāvasikta*, *Ambaṣṭha*, *Niṣāda* (or *Pāraśava*) *Māhiṣya*, *Ugra* & *Karaṇa*. Gautama⁹ (1/4/14) also mentions six *anulomas*. Their names, given by him, are *Savārṇa*, *Ambaṣṭha*, *Ugra*, *Niṣāda*, *Dauṣmanta* & *Pāraśava*. Thus there is difference in the names of some *anulomas*.

But Devala mentions *anulomas* to be four. The other *Smṛtikāras* like Manu, Yājñavalkya, Gautama mention them to be six as mentioned previously. In fact, there can be six *anulomas*-viz. 3 by the *Brāhmaṇa* in 3 lower *varṇas*, 2 by the *Kṣatriya* in two lower *varṇas*, one by the *vaiśya* in the *śūdra* woman. But Devala's mention of four only is also proper, because the off-spring by the union of higher *varṇa* male, with the next lower *varṇa* woman, is called *Savarṇa*. Hence three of them become *Savarṇa* & the remaining three are given specific names (298-300). This treatment of Devala is identical with that of Kauṭilya¹⁰ (III. 7.21-25).

4. ANULOMASĀVARṆYA :

There are three views¹¹ regarding the status of the progeny, born from the *anuloma* marriages of the higher *varṇa* male with the woman of the next lower *varṇa*. (I) One view, as maintained by Manu (X. 6)¹² is that the status of the child is lower than that of the father, but higher than that of the mother. The child becomes similar to its father, but not of the same *varṇa*. (II) The second view is that the progeny is equal in its status to its father¹³. Cf. Kauṭilya III.7.21 Nārada (*strī*.) 106. (III). The third view¹⁴ is that the offspring belongs to the *varṇa* of his mother. (*Vsn.S.* 16/2).

Thus *pitṛsāvarṇya*, *pitṛsāvarṇya* & *mātṛsāvarṇya*-these three views are found about *anulomasāvarṇya*. Devala follows the view of the *mātṛsāvarṇya* in case of *śūdra*, when he states that the son born of a *śūdra* woman by the *vaiśya* male is called *śūdra* only. While in case of the other two *savarṇas*-he seems to follow the view of *pitṛsāvarṇya*. This is quite identical with Kauṭilya (III.7.21-25).

5. ANTARĀLAS EXPLICITLY MENTIONED :

After enumerating the *varṇas*, *anulomas* & *pratilomas*, Devala also enumerates the six *antarālas*. They are—*Kukkuṭa*, *Pulkasa*, *Vena*, *Kuśilava*, *Bandī*, *Śvapāka*. These are also, later on, explained in the text. (Cf. *Arthaśāstra*. III.7.33-37).

The term '*antarāla*' occurs in the *Manusmṛti*¹⁵. But *antarālas* are not specifically mentioned & enumerated in the *Manusmṛti*. The *Yājñavalkya smṛti* also does not explain or mention the term *antarāla*. The treatment of *antarālas*, as found in the present text, is rarely to be found elsewhere. Even Mm.P.V. Kane, also has not treated the topic of *antarālas* separately like the *Manu* & *Yājñavalkya Smṛtis*, he only discusses the *anulomas* & *pratilomas* & includes *antarālas* therein, without specific distinction.

However *antarālas* are mentioned & explained in the *Arthaśāstra* of *Kauṭilya*¹⁶ (III. 7.33-37). The treatment of *Kauṭilya* is almost identical with that of Devala.

6. STATUS OF SEVERAL CASTES :

The author declares in one verse, that status of persons, born from different marriages. Those that are born from *savarṇa* relations are the best, lower in status than *savarṇas* are those produced from *anuloma* marriages, while *antarālas* are beyond the system of four *varṇas* & those from *pratiloma* marriages are *patita* (fallen or degraded).

7. DUTIES OF CĀṆDĀLA ALSO TREATED :

It is noteworthy that the author also deals with the duties of the *cāṇḍāla*. This kind of tolerable & sympathetic treatment of the topic is not generally found in the prominent *Smṛtis* like *Manu*, *Yājñavalkya* etc. The mention of the duties of *cāṇḍāla* indicates that like other civilized people, he also has to follow certain code of conduct, as prescribed in the text, though he was generally treated¹⁷ as equal to crow & dog etc., excluded from all relations. Yet the duties of *cāṇḍāla* reflect upon his social status—howsoever low it might be.

TABLE NO. 4
VARṆAJĀTIVIVEKA

A table, showing *varṇas* etc. mentioned & named in the text, (Chapter II of *adhyāya* I) is given below :

	Male	Female	Offspring
Varṇas	1. Bhāhmaṇa 2. Kṣatriya 3. Vaiśya 4. Śūdra	Brāhmaṇa Kṣatriya Vaiśya Śūdra	Brāhmaṇa Kṣatriya Vaiśya Śūdra
Anulomas	1. Brāhmaṇa	Kṣatriya	Brāhmaṇa
Savarṇas	2. Kṣatriya 3. Vaiśya	Vaiśya Śūdra	Kṣatriya Śūdra or Karaṇa
Anulomas	1. Brāhmaṇa	Vaiśya	Ambaṣṭha
(contd.)	2. Brahmaṇa 3. Kṣatriya	Śūdra Śūdra	Pārāśava or Niśāda Ugra
Pratilomas	1. Śūdra 2. Śūdra 3. Śūdra 4. Vaiśya 5. Vaiśya 6. Kṣatriya	Vaiśya Kṣatriya Brāhmaṇa Kṣatriya Brāhmaṇa Brāhmaṇa	Āyogava Kṣattā or Mainda Caṇḍāla Māgadha or Mucaka Vaidehaka Sūta
Antarālas	1. Ugra (Anuloma) 2. Niśāda (Anuloma) 3. Vaidehaka (Pratiloma) 4. Ambaṣṭha (Anuloma) 5. — 6. Ugra (Anuloma)	Niśāda (Anuloma) Śūdra (Varṇa) Ambaṣṭha (Anuloma) Vaidehaka (Pratiloma) — Kṣatriya (Varṇa)	Kukkuṭa Pulkasa Vena Kuśilava Bandī Śvapāka

ĀŚRAMADHARMA

I BRAHMACĀRĪ :

1. MENTION OF AKṢAMĀLĀ:

The author mentions various articles that are necessary for the vedic study of the *brahmacārī*. The mention of *akṣamālā*, among them is significant. The words of the text suggest that it is quite essential for the *brahmacārī*. The word '*akṣamālā*' is to be constructed with the term '*dhāraṇam*' occurring at the end of the compound. Thus it would mean actually 'holding or wearing the *akṣamālā* ? But wearing of garlands is always prohibited by¹⁸ *Smṛtis* including the present text. However, according to Devala, *akṣamālā* was at least indispensable for the vedic study of the *brahmacārī*. But such a rule is not generally found elsewhere.

Akṣamālā means 'rosary, string of beads' (*Akārūdikṣakārāntaḥ akṣaḥ tatkr̥tā tapratinidhibūtā vā mālā*). It is made of *rudrākṣa* seeds, corals, crystals, rubies, gems etc. Devala has not specifically mentioned the material utilized for the *akṣamālā*, in the present context. But it must be of *rudrākṣa* seeds in the present case. Moreover, the word *akṣamālā* is generally used for the rosary of *rudrākṣa* seeds & not for garlands of other materials. Under the influence of *tantras*, the deities are described to have *akṣamālā* in their hands. In short, Devala's reference to *akṣamālā* indicates the Śaivite & Tāntric influence on the present text.

2. HAIR ON THE HEAD OF THE BRAHMACĀRĪ :

There are three different views regarding the hair on the head of the *brahmacārī*. The question here arises-whether he should allow them to grow as matted or should shave them? There are three alternatives (1) keeping of hair & allowing them to grow as matted. (2) keeping a tuft of hair on the head & shaving the remaining head. (3) shaving the entire head.

Manu¹⁹ (2.219) & Gautama (1/1/26) mention & allow any of the above three alternatives to be followed by the *brahmacārī*. The *Āpastamba D.S.*²⁰ (I.I.2.31-32) & *Vasiṣṭha D.S.* (VII. II)

allow only first & second alternatives. While the *Viṣṇu D.S.* (28)²¹ allows the first & third alternatives only. The *Kāṭhaka G.S.* (1.3) describes the *brahmacārī* as *saṁhatakeśaḥ* (with matted hair).

The rule, mentioned in the text is remarkable. There should not be disappearance of the hair on the head & beard & of nails. This indicates that the *brahmacārī* should not shave his head & beard. The nails also are not to be cut by him. The term '*alupta*' mentioned in the text may suggest that '*jaṭilatva*' (keeping matted hair) is also not intended by the author. Otherwise, the author himself would have used that term. It may be understood that the author allows the cropping of the hair, but against shaving.

3. ANADHYĀYA :

Several days & occasions are mentioned in the text, when there is suspension of vedic study (*anadhyāya*). The observance of *anadhyāya*, on two *dvādaśīs* (twelfth lunar days) that follow the sleeping & waking days of Viṣṇu is remarkable. The twelfth lunar day of both fortnights is not generally prohibited²² for vedic study, but Devala here declares two special holidays on the 12th lunar day of the bright fortnight of *āṣāḍha* & that of *Kārtika*. The *Nārādīya Purāṇa* (quoted in the *S.C.1.58*)²³ mentions *anadhyāya* not on the above twelfth days but on the both eleventh lunar days (*ekādaśīs*), when the lord Viṣṇu goes to sleep & is awake.

The above reference clearly indicates the Paurāṇic & Vaiṣṇavite influence on this portion of the text. These *anadhyāyas* must have developed, when the mythological stories of the *Purāṇas* & the *Vratas* mentioned therein, had become popular in the society.

II. DIVISION OF GRHASTHAS-YĀYĀVARA & ŚĀLĪNA :

The author classifies the householders in two varieties, namely- *Yāyāvara* & *śālīna*. The former is superior to the latter, because he does not accumulate wealth by officiating at a sacrifice, by teaching or by accepting gifts. While *śālīna* is

paurṇimā, the prescription of Devala, that the ascetic should stay at one place, during rainy season, starting from the month of *śrāvaṇa*, is quite in conformity with the usual customs, because the ascetics perform the worship of Vyāsa etc. on the day of *gurupūrṇimā* & there-after stay at one place, preaching *dharma*, to the masses, during the days of rainy season, when the external activities and travelling remain suspended due to rain.

As mentioned previously (Ch. III), this reference is important for determining the home of Devala. The method of reckoning months, ending on full-moon day is still prevalent in the North-West of India. It has been prevalent in that area from very ancient period. Mm.P.V. Kane notes "that the months in North-West India were *pūrṇimānta* in the *Kharoṣṭhi* records, drawn up in *Kaniṣka's* era....."²⁷. This evidence indicates Devala to be belonging to the North-West of India.

3. SAMNYĀSA & AGNIHOTRA IN KALI AGE :

Devala is of the opinion that the *saṁnyāsa* & the *agnihotra* can be practised or resorted to even in the Kali age, as long as the distinctions of castes are maintained & the study of *Veda* continues. But *Vyāsa*²⁸ (quot. in C.M.S. p. 55) forbids *saṁnyāsa* to be resorted, after the lapse of 4400 years of *Kali* age.

REFERENCES

1. Mm.P.V. Kane-H.D.S., Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 677.
2. *Phalayuktānāmārambhe yāthākāmi phalārthitvāt/Na niyamanimittāgnihotradarśapūrṇamāsadākṣāyaṇāgrayaṇapaśuṣu pravṛtteḥ/Some caikel/Cāturmasyeṣu caturmukhaśruteḥ/*
■ Kāt. S.S. 1/2/10-13.
Agnihotre'pi na yāthākāmyam/ Yāvajjivamagnihotram juhuyāt' iti śrūyate/Nanu ca 'agnihotram juhuyāt svargakāma'ati ca/....
■ Karkabhāṣya on Kāt. S.S. 1/2/11

- 2A. *Tyājyam doṣavadityeke karma prāhurmanīṣiṇaḥ/ yajñadānatapaḥkarma na tyājyamiti cāpare// Yajñadānatapaḥkarma na tyājyam kāryameva tat/*
.....

Etānyapi tu karmāṇi saṅgam tyaktā phalāni ca/Kartavyāniti me pārtha niścitam matamuttamam//

■ Bh.G. 18/3-7.

Cf. also Bh.G. VI. 3.

3. *Gautama (1/8/14-22), Śaṅkha, Yama, Vaikhānasa etc.* cf. The sacramental features, part III, for details.

.....*Śreṣṭhatamāya karmaṇe....* Cf.V.S. I.I.

Yajño vai śreṣṭhatamam karma/Śatapaṭha-Brāhmaṇa (1/7/115).

4. *Agnihotrādi tu tatkāryāyaiva taddarśanāt/Ato'nye'pi hyekeṣāmubhayoḥ/Yadeva vidyayeti/*

■ Bh.S. (4/1/16-18)

Yannityam Karma vaidikamagnihotrādi tattatkāryāyaiva bhavati/

■ Bh.S.S., 4/1/16.

Ato'gnihotrādernityatvātkarmaṇo'nyasyāpi hyasti sādhuḥkṛtyā, Yā phalamabhisandhāya kriyatel/

■ Bh.S.S. 4/1/17.

.....*Nityamagnihotrādikam karma mumukṣuṇā mokṣaprayojanoddeśena Kṛtamupāttaduritaḥsayahetutadvāreṇa sattvasuddhi-kāraṇatām pratipadyamānam mokṣaprayojanabrahmādhi-gamanimittatvena brahnavidyayā sahaikakāryam bhavati/*

■ Bh.S.S. 4/1/18.

5. *Dṛṣṭavadānuśravikaḥ sa hyasuddhikṣayātīśayayuktaḥ/ tadviparītaḥ śreyān vyaktāvyaktajñānavijñānāt/*

■ Sān Kā. 2

6. *Devalaprabhṛtibhiṣca kaiściddharmasūtrakāraiḥ svagrantheṣvāśritaḥ tena tatpratiṣedhe yatno'tīva kṛto nāṇvādikāraṇavādapraṭiṣedhe/*

■ Bh.S.S. 1/4/28.

7. *Ekameva tu śūdrasya prabhuh karma samādiṣat/
Eteṣāmeva varṇānām śuśrūṣāmanasūyayāḥ*
■ *Manu.S. 1/91.*
*Paricaryātmakam karma śūdrasyāpi svabhāvajam/
■ Bh.G., 18.44.*
*Asaknuvaṁstu śuśrūṣām śūdraḥ kartum dvijanmanām/
Putradārātyayam prāpto jīvetkārūkakarmabhiḥ//
Yaiḥ karmabhiḥ pracaritaiḥ śuśrūṣante dvijātayaḥ/
tāni kārūkakarmāṇi śilpāni vividhāni ca//*
■ *Manu. S. 10/99-100.*
*Śūdrasya dvijaśuśrūṣā tayā'jīvan vaṇik bhavet/
Śilpairvā vividhairjīved dvijātihitamācaran//*
■ *Yāj.S. I. 120.*
*Śūdrasya dvijaśuśrūṣā sarvaśilpāni cāpyathā/
■ Śaṅkha.S. 1.5*
*Vāṇijyam pāsupālyam ca tathā śilpopajīvanam/
Śūdrasyāpi vidhīyante yadā vṛttiṛna jāyate//*
■ *Mbh. Śānti. 294/4 (Cr.ed. 12/283/3)*
8. *Viprasya triṣu varṇeṣu nṛpatervarṇayordvayoḥ/
vaiśyasya varṇe caikasmin śadete'pasadāḥ smṛtāḥ//*
■ *Manu.S. X/10.*
*Viprānoūrdhābhiṣiktm hi kṣatriyāṇam viśaḥ striyām/
ambaṣṭhaḥ śūdryām niṣādo jātāḥ pāraśavo'pi vā//
Vaiśyaśūdryayostu rājanyānmāhiṣyograu sutau smṛtau/
vaiśyāttu karaṇaḥ śūdryām vinnāsveṣa vidhiḥ smṛtaḥ//*
■ *Yāj. S.1/92-93.*
9. *Anulomānantaraikāntaradvyañtarāsu jātāḥ
savarnāmbṣṭhograṇiṣādadauṣmantapāraśavāḥ//*
■ *G.D.S. (1/4/14).*
10. *Brāhmaṇakṣatriyayoranantarā putrāḥ savarnā ekāntarā
asavarṇāḥ/Brāhmaṇasya vaiśyāyāmambaṣṭhaḥ/
Śūdrāyām niṣādāḥ/Pāraśavo vā/Kṣatriyasya śūdrāyāmugraḥ/
Śūdra eva vaiśyasya//*
■ *Arth.S.III/7/21-25.*

11. *Mm. Kane, P.V.-H.D.S., Vol. II, Pt.I, pp. 55-56.*
12. *Strīṣvanantarajātāsu dvijairutpādītān sutān/
sadṛśān eva tānāhurmatṛdoṣavigarhitān//*
■ *Manu.S. X.6.*
13. *Arth.S. III/7/21, Cf. N. 10 above. Savarnā
brāhmaṇīputraḥ kṣatriyāyāmanantaraḥ/
■ Nārada S.(strī.) 106.*
14. *Anulomāsu mātṛvarṇāḥ*
■ *Vsn. S. 16/2.*
15. *Varṇānām sāntarālānām sa sadācāra ucyate/
■ Manu.S. II/18*
16. *Ugrānnaiśādyām kukkuṭaḥ/Viparyaye pulkaṣaḥ/
Vaidehikāyāmambaṣṭhād vaiṇaḥ/
Viparyaye kuśilavaḥ/Kṣattāyāmugrācchvapāka ityete
cāntarālāḥ/
■ Arth.S. III.7.33-37.*
17. *R.T., Sr. no. 1082.*
18. *Varjāyen madhu māṁsam ca gandham mālyam rasān
striyaḥ/
■ Manu.S. III/177.*
Cf. R.T., Sr. no. 121.
19. *Muṇḍo vā jaṭilo vā syādathavā syācchikhajātaḥ/
■ Manu.S. II/219.*
*Muṇḍajaṭilāśikhajātaśca/
■ G.D.S. 1/1/26.*
20. *Jaṭilāḥ śikhajāto vā/Vāpayeditarān/
■ Ap.D.S. 1/1/2/31-32.*
*Jaṭilāḥ śikhajāto vā/
■ V.D.S. VIII/11.*
21. *Brahmacāriṇā muṇḍena jaṭelena vā bhāvyam/
■ Vsn.S. (28/41).*
22. *Amāvāsyācaturdaśyoh paurṇamāsyāṣṭakāsu ca/
amāvāsyā gurum hanti śiṣyam hanti caturdaśi//*

hmāṣṭakāpaurṇamāsyau tasmāttāḥ parityajet//
■ Manu.S. 4/113-114.

Pañcadaśyām caturdaśyāmaṣṭamyām rāhusūtakell//
■ Yāj.S. 1/146.

23. Ayane Viṣuve caiva śayane bodhane hareḥ/
anadhyāyastu kartavyo manvādiṣu yugādiṣu//
■ Nāradya purāṇa—S.C. I, p. 58.
24. Atha śālinayāyāvaracakracaradharmakāṅkṣiṇām/
Śālāśrayatvācchālīnatvam/Vṛtyā varayāyātīti
Yāyavaratvam/Anukramācaranāccakracaratvam//
■ BDS. III/1/1 & 3.
25. Dvididhamapi gr̥hastham prāhuḥ śālinam yāyāvaram
calśālīnāt paṇyataro yāyāvarah śreyān//.....
Sarvāsvavasthāsu bahvosya śālā iti śālīnaḥ śālāvāniti
vā śālīnaḥ śālāyāmātmavṛttibhīrīnaḥ śālīnaḥ//....
śālīnādātmavṛttiyāpanād vara iti yāyāvarah/
Daśa daśa rātrīrvasan yātīti yāyāvarah/
parāsvaṣṭasu vṛttiṣvātmānam yāpayatīti yāyāvarah//.....
■ Hārīta quot. in G.R., p. 415 & 419
26. Gr̥hasthāscaturvidhāḥ vārtāvṛttiḥ śālīnavṛttiryāyāvaro-
ghorācārīkaśceti/Yāyāvaro haviryajñaiḥ somayajñaiḥ ca
yajate yājyatyā- dhīte'dhyāpayati dadāti pratiḡrñāti
Ṣaṭkarmanirato.... Ghorācārīko niyamairyukto yajate
na yājyatyadhīte nādhyāpayati dadāti na
pratiḡrñāti..../
■ Vai.D.S., 1.5.
27. Mm.P.V. Kane, H.D.S., Vol. III, p. 905, n. 1766.
28. Catvāryabdasahastrāṇi catvāryabdasatāni ca/
kaleryadā gamiṣyanti tadā tretā parigrahaḥ/
Saṁnyāsastu na kartavyo brāhmaṇena vijānatā//
■ Vyāsa quoted in C.M.S., p. 55.

C. THE DISTINCTIVE LEGAL FEATURES

I. GENERAL REMARKS :

1. MODERATE TREATMENT OF VYAVAHĀRA :

There are only 83 verses, dealing with *vyavahāra* in the present text. Only four topics namely (1) *Rājadharmā*, (2) *Ātātāyin* (3) *Strīpuṇḍharmā* & (4) *Dāyavibhāga* are treated in them. The exposition of the other topics of *vyavahāra* is not found in the available verses. The verses of Devala, on the different topics of *ācāra* & *prāyaścitta* are available, in the various digests & commentaries. But those, dealing with the varied topics of *vyavahāra* are not available. It is evident that Devala's verses, on the other topics of *vyavahāra*, were not available even from the period of 11th & 12th century A.D. The extensive works like the *Mitākṣarā*, the *Aparārka*, the *Kṛtyakalpataru* etc. do not quote such verses. This may suggest that those verses might not be available, even to those early writers of the said works, even though Devala's *Smṛti* was possibly available to them. These writers, would not have missed to incorporate them in their comprehensive works. This suggests that Devala might not have dealt with the other topics of *vyavahāra*.

2. ABSENCE OF ROYAL RECOGNITION :

The *Smṛtis*, those of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Kātyāyana, Nārada, Bṛhaspati etc. deal exhaustively with various titles of *vyavahāra*. But Devala does not treat them elaborately like other *Smṛtis*. This may reflect upon the following facts.

There might be a state of anarchy & chaos in the society, with the loss of kingdom, due to foreign invasion. In fact, the precepts, dealing with *vyavahāra*, are meant for the guidance of king, who would follow them, in the legal matters. Some *Smṛtis*, like those of Manu, Yājñavalkya etc. must have had such a royal recognition. Moreover, such *Smṛtis* were circulated among the friendly states, for the guidance & adhearence. But in the absence of royal recognition & prevalence of the state of anarchy or foreign rule, there would be no significance & necessity of the directives regarding *vyavahāra*. This might be the reason for the omission of the other topics of *vyavahāra* by Devala. He has dealt with only such topics, that are of general interest & application.

II. STRĪPUMDHARMA :

I. REMARRIAGE OF LADIES ALLOWED :

A lady can supersede her husband in the following circumstances (1549). When the husband is (1) lost (*naṣṭa*)-not seen & unheard of, (2) has become an ascetic, (3) is impotent, (4) has become *patita* (outcaste), (5) has committed a great sin or is a traitor to the king. (6) has gone to other world. Nārada¹ (*strīpum*) V. 97) is quite similar to Devala, but '*rājakilbiṣī*' mentioned by Devala is absent in Nārada, who thus refers only to five circumstances. The three circumstances (3, 4 & 5 mentioned above) are common with those mentioned in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*² (3/2/59).

Devala (1550) further strictly ordains that for the propagation of race only and not through freedom, a lady can approach another husband, even when her earlier husband is alive or dead.

Devala (1551 to 1555) also points out the period, after the lapse of which, a lady, belonging to a particular caste can be entitled for remarriage. Nārada (*Strīpum* 98- 101) has similarly dealt with this point.

(1) The ladies of the four castes having progeny should wait for 8, 6, 4 & one year respectively for their husband, who has gone abroad & after this period, they may approach another person. (2) When the ladies of the four castes are without any progeny or issue, the period of waiting is further relaxed by 4, 3, 2 years respectively, for the woman of the first three castes. No period of waiting is prescribed for a *śūdrā* lady, having no progeny. (3) The husband can be set aside even when he is living & is heard of. But in such cases, the lady has to wait for double the period, ordinarily prescribed.

Above statements would reflect upon the fact that Devala (like Nārada) favoured the view of 'the remarriage of ladies'. Manu³ is opposed to the 'remarriage' but practically allows⁴ the same in some cases, in accordance with the popular usage & sentiment. Moreover, Manu (IX. 76) does not clearly state, what the woman should do after the period of waiting, when the husband has gone abroad, while Vasiṣṭha⁵ (17.67) prescribes that woman should approach her husband, after the lapse of certain period of waiting (i.e. return to her own husband only). Kauṭilya⁶ (3.4.45-47) allows her to marry with brother, or a *sapiṇḍa* or the nearest family member of her husband.

This comparison can indicate the peculiarity of Devala, regarding the problem of 'remarriage of ladies'. Both Devala & Nārada seem to agree with Kauṭilya, in allowing remarriage in certain cases, under certain conditions.

2. SUPERSESSION OF WIFE (DIVORCE) :

The circumstances & the period, when a person can supersede his wife, for another (*adhivedana*) are mentioned in the text. (1556 & 1557). The person can abandon his wife (1) who is beyond the limit of procreation (who is rendered unfit for procreation, on account of age), (2) who is barren & censurable & (3) who gives birth to female issues, after 8, 10 & 12 years respectively. After this period, he may obtain another wife, for getting son. But while marrying another wife, he should satisfy his previous wife with wealth. Manu's rule is slightly different. He mentions⁷ (IX. 81) 8 years for the barren & 11 years for the lady, giving birth to female progeny, as a period for waiting before supersession. But Manu also refers to other two circumstances (1) 10 year for one who gives birth to the stillborn, (2) immediately a woman not having agreeable speech (i.e. of harsh tongue). Baudhāyana⁸ (II.2/4/6) also prescribes, 10 years for the barren woman, & 12 years in case of woman giving birth to female issues, while he mentions 15 years for one giving birth to still-born & allows immediate abandonment of one who has unagreeable speech.

Thus Devala is identical with Baudhāyana in two respects, while quite different from Manu, in all respects, in this topic of period & circumstances of supersession of wife. But it is remarkable that Devala is much closer to Kauṭilya⁹ (3.2. 47/48) in this respect. Kauṭilya mentions eight years for a barren woman & a lady, who is beyond procreation, 10 years for lady giving birth to stillborn child & 12 years for one, having female progeny only. The difference between Kauṭilya & Devala is with regard to the barren woman. Devala mentions 10 years, while Kauṭilya prescribes 8 years in such a case. Moreover, Devala does not refer to the lady, giving birth to the stillborn-child.

3. NUMBER OF WIVES :

The number of wives that a person can marry are mentioned in the text (1560). The persons, belonging to the four *varṇas*,

can marry four, three, two & one wife respectively. While a king can marry any number of them, at his sweet will. This rule reflects upon the prevalence of polygamy in the society.

The above rule of Devala is similar to the view of Manu, as expressed in the verse (3. 13)¹⁰. But later on, (3. 14)¹¹ Manu, clearly expresses his disapproval for marrying *śūdrā* lady by *brāhmāṇa* & *kṣatriya*. Yājñavalkya¹² (1.56-57) & Pāraskara (1/4/8-11) do not allow marrying of *śūdrā* lady by the three higher *varṇas*. It is only referred to as a view of some, not approved of by them.

The king could marry any number of wives, according to Devala. "This only reflected the prevailing practice of kings"¹³.

III. DĀYAVIBHĀGA :

1. TIME FOR THE PARTITION OF PROPERTY :

Devala declares like Manu¹⁴ (IX. 104) that the sons should divide the property of his father, only after his death. They have no right on his wealth, as long as he is alive & is free from defect. (1563). In other words, the sons have right on the father's estate only after his death, but even when he is alive, the sons make partition of property in some exceptional cases, of his having some defect, such as his being an outcaste, an ascetic etc. This view is known as *Upamasattvavāda*. Manu (IX. 104), Devala (1563), Nārada¹⁵ (*Dāya*. 2) & Kauṭilya (3.5.1) hold this view. While there is also another view, known as *janmasattvavāda*, represented by¹⁶ Yājñavalkya (II.124), Kātyāyana (839), Viṣṇu (17.2) etc. According to this second view, the ownership of sons, in the ancestral property, arises from the very birth of them in the family. Sons are also owners of the ancestral estate from their birth along with father.

The partition could be done even during the life-time of mother, when her monthly course is suspended (1564).

2. ORDER OF SUCCESSION OF PROPERTY OF THE SONLESS :

The order of succession of property, in case of a sonless person, laid down in the text (1570-1571) is as follows-the full brothers, (unmarried) daughters, father, half-brothers, mother & wife. The place of wife, coming at the end of this order of succession is noteworthy.

The widow of the sonless person is not admitted as an heir in some *Smṛtis* (Cf. Manu IX. 185, *Ap.D.S.* II.6.14.2, Nārada (*Dāya* 50-51 etc.). While some *Smṛtis* like Yājñavalkya (II. 138-139), Viṣṇu (17.4) etc. give the first & foremost place to the widow, as the heir for the property of the sonless. Devala, like Gautama (III/10/19), Śaṅkha (*Mitā*. on *Yāj.S.* II. 135) does not give her the foremost place, but only as the last member to inherit, if the earlier heirs are not there.

The order of succession, mentioned by Devala, in case of the sonless person, does not agree with most of the *Smṛtis* (Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada, Viṣṇu, Gautama, Śaṅkha, etc.). But it is remarkable that Devala here also agrees much with Kauṭilya¹⁷ (3.5.8 to 11). But the difference is that Devala admits mother & wife as heirs, while Kauṭilya does not.

3. NO SHARE TO PATITA AND HIS SON :

The *patita* (outcaste) & his son are not considered fit for getting any share in the ancestral property. *Patita* is not entitled for maintenance & raiment. While other disqualified persons like impotent etc. are given food & raiment. (1573-1574). Baudhāyana (II/2/3/41) & Kauṭilya (3.5.19/32) mention a similar rule. Manu (IX.10) & Nārada (21.22) do not seem to exclude the son of *patita* from share; while Yājñavalkya (II. 143) like Devala excludes *patita* & his son from inheritance, but seems to allow maintenance & raiment to be given to *patita* also.

4. ENUMERATION OF 12 KINDS OF SONS :

The number & status of sons are differently mentioned in the various *Smṛtis*. Devala also enumerates 12 kinds of sons. The names & status of sons mentioned in the text are compared below, with those in other *Smṛtis*. The highest number of kinds of sons is 13; Devala enumerates only 12 types of sons & omits 'śaudra', in the list. The order of sons, given by the author is not identical with any of other *Smṛti*. But Devala is quite closer to Kauṭilya in respect of number & order of sons. The only difference between Devala & Kauṭilya is with regard to the position of *Kānina*, to whom Kauṭilya has given a lower place.

TABLE NO. 5

Devala	Gautama	Baudhāyana	Kaushīlya	Vasiṣṭha	Hārīta	Sanakha likhita	Manu	Yājñika	Nārada	Brhaspati	Viṣṇu	Ādi- parva	Yama	Brahma Purāṇa
1. Aurasa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. Putrikā	10	2	2	3	5	3	2	2	3	2	3	2	3	2
3. Kṣetaja	2	3	3	2	2	2	3	3	2	3	2	3	2	3
4. Kānina	7	8	6	5	4	5	8	5	4	10	5	5	5	10
5. Gūḍhotpanna	5	6	4	6	6	6	6	4	6	12	6	6	6	9
6. Apavidhha	6	7	5	11	9	7	7	12	8	5	11	—	7	8
7. Sahoḍha	8	9	7	7	10	8	9	11	5	11	7	11	8	11
8. Paunarbhava	9	11	8	4	3	4	11	6	7	9	4	4	4	12
9. Dattaka	3	4	9	8	7	9	4	7	9	4	8	7	9	4
10. Svayamupagata	11	12	10	10	11	12	12	10	12	—	10	10	12	5
11. Kṛtrima	4	5	11	—	—	—	5	9	11	7	12	9	10	6
12. Kṛita	12	10	12	9	8	10	10	8	10	6	9	8	11	7
13. —	—	13	—	12	—	11	13	—	—	8	—	12	—	13 śaudra

The above table is prepared, on the basis of a similar chart, given by Mm.P.V. Kane in *H.D.S.*, Vol. III, p. 645.

The text also contains verses (1576-1577), enumerating 15 kinds of sons. No *Smṛti*, mentioned in the above table refers to so many sons. The three additional sons, mentioned here are *bījīn*, *putrikāsuta* & *yatrakvacotpādita*. The last one is mentioned in the *Viṣṇu Smṛ.* (15/27). The earlier two can be explained by understanding (1) *kṣetraja* as a son of the begetter & also of the husband of the lady & (2) *putrikā* as the daughter appointed as a son & the son of the appointed daughter.

5. CLASSIFICATIONS OF SONS :

The text refers to three kinds of classifications of the twelve kinds of sons. (1578-1583).

UTTAMA, MADHYAMA & GARHITA :

The *aurasa* & the *putrikā* are considered as the best (*uttama*) as heir for the ancestral property. While the *dattaka*, *apavidhha*, *kṛita*, *kṛtrima* & *śaudra* are sons, that are of middle (*madhyama*) kind. The *kṣetraja*, *paunarbhava*, *kānina*, *sahoḍha* & *gūḍhotpanna* are considered as unworthy (*garhita*). But it is noteworthy that there is reference to *śaudra* son, not mentioned in the prose and verse enumerations, found in the text (1575-1577). This classification into *uttama*, *madhyama* & *garhita* sons, would be in conflict with the following classification of sons as *bandhudāyāda* & *pitṛdāyāda*. The verses, containing similar classification of sons are found in the reconstructed text of the *Brhaspatismṛti* (Vyav. 26-70 & 72, 73 & *Sam.* 270 & 271).

ĀTMAJA, PARAJA, LABDHA & YĀDṚCCHIKA :

Devala (1582) also indicates the classification of sons into four kinds, namely (1) *ātmaja* (born of oneself), (2) *paraja* (born of others), (3) *labdha* (obtained), (4) *Yādr̥cchika* (accidental) "The *aurasa*, *putrikā*, *paunarbhava* & *śaudra* would be *ātmaja*. The *kṣetraja* would be *paraja*. The *dattaka*, *kṛtrima*,

krīta, *svayamdatta* & *apavidhha* would be *labdha* & (also *paraja*) & *gūḍhaja*, *kānīna*, *sahoḍha* may be called *yāḍṛcchika*”¹⁸.

BANDHUDĀYĀDA & PITRĀYĀDA :

Devala (1583) has also suggested the classification of the twelve sons into two groups namely-*bandhudāyāda* & *pitṛdāyāda*. Among the first group of *bandhudāyādas* (that get share not only in the father's property, but also in the ancestral property of their kinsmen)-the six sons, the *aurasa*, *putrikā*, *kṣetraja*, *kānīna*, *gūḍhotpanna*, *apavidhha* are included. While the remaining viz. namely-*sahoḍha*, *paunarbhava*, *dattaka*, *svayamupagata*, *kṛtrima*, *krīta* are included in the latter group of *pitṛdāyādas* (that inherit the property of father only & not their kinsmen). Manu¹⁹ (IX. 159-160) also divides the sons in the similar manner as *bandhudāyāda* & *adāyādabāndhavas*, but the sons, mentioned by him in these groups are different. “Vas. (17/5/25), Śaṅkhalikhita (quot. in V.R.P. 247), Nārada (*Dāyabhāga* 47), & Hārīta include in the first group-*Aurasa*, *kṣetraja*, *putrikāputra*, *paunarbhava*, *kānīna*, *gūḍhaja* & the rest in the 2nd groups²⁰”.

6. SAVARṆA SONS GET ONE THIRD SHARE :

Devala (1585) completely agrees with Kauṭilya (3/7/19-20)²¹, when he states that the sons that are *savarṇa* (belonging to the same caste), obtain 1/3 share, when the *aurasa* son is existing. While those of lower caste should be given only food & raiment. Kātyāyana (857)²² mentions 1/4th share to be given to the *savarṇas*. But there is also reading ‘*ṛtīyāṁśaharāḥ*’ for ‘*caturthāṁśaharāḥ*’ in the verse of Kātyāyana .

7. STATUS OF PUTRIKĀPUTRA :

The status of *putrikā* or *putrikāputra* is the next to the *aurasa* son, according to Devala & is considered equal to *aurasa* as in Manu (IX. 130), Kauṭilya (3/7/5), Yājñavalkya (II.131) etc. But some *Smṛtis* (like Vasiṣṭha, Śaṅkhalikhita, Nārada, Viṣṇu, Yama-cf. previous table) consider *Kṣetraja* to be superior to the *putrikā* or *putrikāputra*. Gautama gives tenth place, &

Hārīta mentions the *putrikā* at the fifth place, in the order of sons. This reflects upon the status of *putrikā* according to the different *Smṛtis*. In this respect of the position of *putrikāputra* also, Devala agrees with Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra*.

8. POSITION OF DATTAKA :

It would be clear from the table of sons, given previously, that Devala gives ninth place to the *dattaka* son, like Kauṭilya, Śaṅkhalikhita, Nārada & Yama. While some *Smṛtikāras* like Gautama, Baudhāyana, Manu, Bṛhaspati etc. place him at a higher position. It is also noteworthy that Devala has indicated the inclusion of the *dattaka* among sons, that are not *bandhudāyādas* (that are not eligible to inherit the property of the Kinsmen), but are heir only to the property of the father. But Manu (IX. 159) includes *dattaka* among sons that inherit collatorally (i.e. are *bandhudāyādas*).

Thus Devala does not agree with Manu in this respect. But Devala's enumeration of *dattaka*, at the ninth place, among 12 sons & not allowing collateral succession to *dattaka*-both these dictums are quite in conformity with the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya.

9. PLACE OF KĀNĪNA :

Kānīnā is given higher place (4th) by Devala, Hārīta & Nārada, but he is given a very lower place, viz. tenth by Bṛhaspati & *Brahmapurāṇa*, & eighth by Manu & Baudhāyana *Smṛtis*.

10. SHARE OF UNMARRIED DAUGHTERS :

Devala (1598) lays down that the ‘unmarried daughters’ should be given nuptial wealth from the estate of the father. But if the father has no male issue, the legitimate or lawful daughter gets the entire property of the father like the son. This indicates that the ‘unmarried daughters’ actually do not get any share in the property, but only the wealth, needed for their marriage is to be kept apart. This is similar to the opinion of Kauṭilya (III. 5.21) & Viṣṇu (15/31)²³. But some law-givers

like Manu (9/118), Yājñavalkya (II. 124), Kātyāyana (858)²⁴ etc. state that 1/4th share of the entire property should devolve upon the 'unmarried daughters'. Śaṅkha²⁵ (qut. in S.C. II. P. 269) maintains that nuptial wealth (*vaivāhikam strīdhanam*) & maiden ornaments should devolve upon her.

Thus there is great disagreement between Devala & Manu etc. (as noted above). But here also Devala seems to follow Kauṭilya, more closely than even Kātyāyana & Bṛhaspati.

III. STRĪDHANA-ITS NATURE & DEVOLUTION :

According to Devala (1604), the *strīdhana* (woman's peculiar property) consists of Maintenance (*vr̥tti*), ornaments, bride's gratuity (*śulka*) & profits of money-lending (*Lābha*). Kauṭilya²⁶ (3/12/16) explains *strīdhana* to be consisting of means of subsistence (*vr̥tti*) & ornaments. Thus there is much verbal & doctrinal parity between the two. While Manu²⁷ (IX. 194), Yājñavalkya (2/143-144) enumerate & explain *strīdhana* in different way. Devala does not verbally agree with them.

The author (1611) maintains that *strīdhana* is to be equally shared by her sons & unmarried daughters, when she is not alive. But if she has no progeny, it should devolve upon her husband, mother, brothers or father. Thus the order of succession or devolution of *strīdhana* is also pointed out.

It is remarkable that Devala like²⁸ Kauṭilya (3/2/42-45) & some *Smṛtis*²⁹ like Manu, Bṛhaspati, Śaṅkhalikhita, Kātyāyana etc. maintains that both, daughters & sons, possess equal right of inheritance for *strīdhana*. While others³⁰ (e.g. Gautama, Yājñavalkya, Viṣṇu, Nārada, Pāraskara etc. opine that it devolves upon daughters only as immediate successors.

REFERENCES

1. *Naṣṭe mṛte pravrajīte klībe ca patite pataul pañcasvāpatsu nārīnām patiranyo vidhīyatell*
■ Nārada S. (*Strīpurn.* V. 97).

2. *Nīcatvam paradeśam vā prasthito rājakilbiṣil prāṇābhīhantā patitastyājyaḥ klībo'pi vā patih//*
■ Arth.S. 3/2/59.
3. *Na dvitīyaśca sādhvīnām kvacid bhartopadiśyatell—*
Manu.S. V. 162.
Pāṇigahaṇikā mantrāḥ kanyāsveva pratiṣṭhitāḥ//
■ —Manu.S. VIII. 226.
Sakṛtkanyā pradīyatell
■ Manu.S. IX. 47.
Na vivāhavidhāvuktam vidhavāvedanam punaḥ//
■ Manu. S.IX. 65.
4. *Sā cedakṣatayoniḥ syādgatapratyāgatā'pi vāl paunarbhavena bhartā sā punaḥ saṁskāramarhatil//*
■ Manu.S. 9/176.
5. *Proṣitapatnī pañca varṣānyupāsīt/Urdhvam pañcabhyo varṣebhyo bhatṛsakāśam gacchet//*
■ V.D.S. 17/75-76.
6. *Tataḥ patisodaryam gacchet/Bahuṣu pratyāsannam dhārmikam bharmasamartham kaṇiṣṭhamabhāryam vāl Tadabhāve'pyasodaryam sapīṇḍam kulyam vāsannam//*
■ Arth. S. 3/4/45-47.
7. *Vandhyāṣṭame'dhivedyābde da'same tu mṛtaprajāl ekādaśe strījananī sadyastvapriyavādinil//*
■ Manu.S. IX/81.
8. *Aprajām daśame varṣe strīprajām dvādaśe tyajet/ mṛtaprajām pañcadaśe sadyastvapriyavādinim//*
■ B.D.S. III/2/4/6.
9. *Varṣānyaṣṭāvaprajāyamānāmaputrām vandhyām cākāṅkṣeta/Daśa bindum dvādaśa ka yāprasavinim//*
■ Arth.S. 3/2/47-48.
10. *Śūdryeva bhāryā śūdrasya sā ca svā ca Viśaḥ smṛtel/ te ca svā caiva rājñaśca tāśca svā cāgrajanmanah//*
■ Manu.S. 3/13.

11. *Na brāhmaṇakṣatriyayorāpadyapi hi tiṣṭhatoḥ/
kasmirṇscidapi vṛtānte śūdrā bhāryopadiśyate//*
■ Manu. S. 3/14.
12. *Yaducyate dvijātīnām śūdrādāropasaṅgrahaḥ/
Na tanmama matam yasmāttatrātmā jāyate svayam//
Tisro varṇānupūrveyaṇa dve tathāikā yathākramam/
brāhmaṇakṣatriyaviśām bhāryā svā śūdrajanmanaḥ//*
■ Yāj. S. 1/56-57.
- Tisro brāhmaṇasya varṇānupūrveṇa/Dve rājanyasya//
Ekā vaiśyasya/Sarvā vā Sarveṣām/ śūdrāmapyeke
mantravarjyam//*
■ Pāraskara G.S. 1.4/8-11.
13. *Mm. Kane, P.V., H.D.S., Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 552.*
14. *Ūrdhvam pitūṣca mātūṣca sametya bhrātaraḥ samam/
bhajeraṇ paitṛkam rikthamanīṣāste hi jīvatoḥ//*
■ Manu. S. IX/104.
15. *Pitāyūrdhvam gate putrā vibhajeraṇ dhanam kramāt/
māturduhitāro'bhāve duhitṛṇām tadanvayaḥ//*
■ Nārada S. (Dāya. 2).
- Anīśvarāḥ pitṛmantāḥ sthitapitṛmātrkāḥ putrāḥ//*
■ Arth. S. 3/5/1.
16. *Bhūryā pitāmāhopāttā nibandho dravyameva ca/
tatra syāt sadṛśam svāmyam pituḥ putrasya caiva hi//*
■ Yāj. S. III/124.
- Paitāmāham samānam syāt pituḥ putrasya cobhayoḥ/
svayam copārjite pitrā na putraḥ svāmyamarhatī//*
■ Ka. S. Sa. 839.
- Paitāmahe tvatho pitṛputrayostulyam svāmitvam//*
■ Vsn. S. 17/2.
17. *Dravyamaputrasya sodaryā bhrātaraḥ saha jīvino vā
hareyuh kanyāṣca riktham/putravataḥ putrāḥ duhitāro
vā dharmiṣṭheṣu vivāheṣu jātāḥ/Tadabhāve pitā
dharamāṇaḥ/Pitrābhāve bhrātāro bhrātṛputrāṣca//*
■ Arth. S. 3/5/8-11.

18. *Mm. Kane, P.V., H.D.S., Vol. III, p. 649, n. 1232.*
19. *Aurasah kṣetrajāṣcaiva dattaḥ kṛtrima eva ca/
gūḍhotpanno'pavidhaṣca dāyādā bāndhavāṣca ṣaṭ//
kāninaṣca sahoḍhaṣca kṛtāḥ paunarbhavasthathā//
svayamdattaṣca śaudraṣca ṣaḍadāyādabāndhavāḥ//*
■ Manu. S. IX/159-160.
20. *Mm. Kane, P.V., H.D.S., Vol. III, p. 651.*
21. *Aurase tūtpanne savarnāstṛīyāṇśaharāḥ/
asavarnā grāsācchādanabhājanāḥ//*
■ Arth. S. III/7/19-20.
22. *Utpanne tvausage putre caturthāṇśaharāḥ sutāḥ/
savarnā asavarnāstu grāsācchādanabhājanāḥ//*
■ Kat. S. Sa. 857.
23. *Kanyābhyaṣca prādānikam//*
■ Arth. S. 3/5/21.
- Anūḍhānām svavittānūrūpeṇa saṁskāram kuryāt//*
■ Vsn. S. 15/31.
24. *Svābhyah svābhyastu kanyābhyah pradadyurbhrātaraḥ pṛthak/
svātsvādāṁśācaturbhāgam patitāḥ syuradītsavaḥ//*
■ Manu. S. 9/118.
- Asaṁskṛtāstu saṁskāryā bhrātṛbhiḥ pūrvasaṁskṛtaiḥ/
bhaginyaṣca nijādāṁśāddattvāṁśam tu turīyakam//*
■ Yāj. S. III/127.
- Kanyakānām tvadattānām caturtho bhāga iṣyate/
putrāṇām tu trayo bhāgāḥ svāmyam tvalpadhane smṛtam//*
■ Kat. S. S. 858.
25. *Vibhajyamāne dāyādye kanyālaṅkāram vaivāhikan
strīdhanam ca kanyā labhetat//*
■ Śaṅkha quot. in S.C. II, p. 269.
26. *Vṛttirābadhyam vā strīdhanam //*
■ Arth. S. III/2/16.
27. *Adhyagnyadyāvāhanikam dattam ca pṛitikarmanī/
bhrātṛmātrpitṛprāptam ṣaḍvidham strīdhanam smṛtam//*
■ Manu. S. IX. 194.

*Pitṛmātrpatibhrātṛdattamadhyagnupāgatam/
ādhivedanikādyam ca strīdhanam parikīrtitam//
bandhūdattam tathā śulkaśāntvādheyakameva vā//*

■ Yāj. S. III/146-147.

28. *Jīvātī bhartari mṛtāyāḥ putrā duhitaraśca strīdhanam vibhajeran/
aputrāyā duhitaraḥ/Tadabhāve bhartā/
śulkaśāntvādheyamanyad vā bai dhubhirdattam
bāndhavā hareyuh//*

■ Arth. S. 3/2/42-45.

29. *Jananyām saṁsthitāyām tu samam sarve sahodarāḥ/
bhajeran mātṛkam riktham bhaginyaśca sanābhayaḥ//*

■ Manu. S. IX. 192.

*Strīdhanam syādapatyānām duhitā ca tadarśinī/
aprattā cet samūḍhā tu labhate mānamātrakam//*

■ B.S. Recon, vyava. 26/31.

*Samam sarve sahodarā mātṛkamrikthamarhanti
kumāryaścal*

■ Śāṅkhalikhita quot. in P.M. III, p. 551.

*Bhaginyo bāndhavaiḥ sārddham vibhajeran sabhartṛkāl
strīdhanasyeti dharmo'yam vibhāgastu prakalpitaḥ//*

■ Kat.S. Sa.917.

30. *Strīdhanam duhitṛṇāmaprattānāmapratīṣṭhitānām cal//*

■ G.D.S. 29.

Māturduhitarāḥ śeṣemṛṇātābhya ṛte'nvayaḥ//

■ Yāj. S. III/117.

*Sarveśveva prasūtāyām yad dhanam tad duhitṛgāmī/
■ Vsn. S. 17/21.*

Māturduhitaro'bhāve duhitṛṇām tadanvayaḥ//

■ Nārada. S. Dāya. 2.

*Aprattāyāstu duhituh strīdhanam parikīrtitam/
putrastu naiva labhate prattāyām tu samāṁśabhāk//*

■ Pāraskara (quot. P.M. III, p. 552).

CHAPTER : VI

FURTHER DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE TEXT (PHILOSOPHICAL ASPECT)

(A) DEVALA'S PHILOSOPHICAL SPECULATIONS :

1. RELEVANCE OF PHILOSOPHICAL EXPOSITION :

The last *prakaraṇa* of the third *adhyāya* contains the exposition of philosophical topics, relating to the *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga* philosophy. The elucidation of theoretical & practical aspects of philosophy is also found in some other *Smṛtis* like those of Manu (Ch. I & XII), Yājñavalkya (III.4) etc. The great epic- *Mahābhārata* also contains a separate section, in which *mokṣa* (the fourth human goal) is elaborately treated. The extensive digests like the *Kṛtyakalpataru*, the *Vīramitrodaya* etc. that deal with practically all aspects of human life, have a separate section, that expatiates the *mokṣadharmā*. Even Hemādri intended to deal with all the four human aims, as the very name of his extensive digest (*Caturvargacintāmaṇi*) suggests. Thus the writers on *Dharmaśāstra* have given great importance also to the philosophical discussion, as the *mokṣa* is also one of the four human goals. The treatment of philosophical topics is indispensable in a *Smṛti*-work, that embodies the elucidation of the complete or entire rules of piety (*dharma*) of human beings. Yājñavalkya¹ (1.8) maintains that realization of self through the practice of *Yoga* is supreme *Dharma*. He also prescribes² (1.101) the study of spiritual text etc. for the perfection of *japayajña*. Vasiṣṭha (1.1)³ points out that *dharmajijñāsā* (desire to know *Dharma* i.e. exposition of *Dharma*) is for the emancipation of *puruṣa*.

Especially, in the present text, the discussion of philosophi-

cal topics is quite relevant, as Devala (2201) expounds the *Dharma* that consists of two fold *puruṣārtha* namely *abhyudaya* & *niḥśreyasa*. According to him, the latter *puruṣārtha* can be attained by twofold path of *Sāṅkhya* & *Yoga*. Buddha (1)⁴ also, like Devala, mentions *Dharma* to be means of *śreyas* & *abhyudaya*. Thus the elucidation of both *Sāṅkhya* & *Yoga*, that constitute the second *puruṣārtha*, is relevant & necessary.

2. THE TWOFOLD *PURUṢĀRTHA* :

Devala (2201-2209) maintains that *puruṣārtha* i.e. end or aim of human life is of two kinds namely (1) *abhyudaya*-wordly prosperity, (2) *niḥśreyasa*-spiritual uplift or final beatitude. The first human end, that of *abhyudaya* was explained by the author in the previous portion. This means that according to Devala, one can secure worldly prosperity by following *Dharma*, explained earlier. While the second *puruṣārtha* can be acquired by two ways namely by the path of *Sāṅkhya* & that of *Yoga*. The fruit or aim & end of both of them is the emancipation in the form of complete cessation of the cycle of birth, death and the consequent sufferings. Both these-*Sāṅkhya* & *Yoga*-are said to constitute the second *puruṣārtha*, namely *niḥśreyasa* & hence both form the part of the entire *Dharma* of human beings.

But it is remarkable that some terms (e.g. *atyantābhāva*, *apavarga*, *abhyudaya* & *niḥśreyasa* etc.) are more current in the *Vaiśeṣika* system of philosophy. The division of *puruṣārtha* into *abhyudaya* & *niḥśreyasa* naturally reminds the *Vaiśeṣika sūtra* (I.1)- '*Yato' bhyudayanīḥśreyasasiddhiḥ sa dharmah*' & clearly indicates the influence of *Vaiśeṣika-sūtra* upon Devala, which may suggest posterity of Devala to the *Vaiśeṣika-sūtras*.

Generally, *puruṣārtha* is said to be of four kinds (1) *Dharma*-Duty or piety, (2) *artha*-wealth, (3) *kāma*-pleasure, (4) *mokṣa*-emancipation. Hemādri, by his title of the gigantic work and Viśvanātha (*Sāhityadarpaṇa pariccheda* I) refer to this scheme of *puruṣārthas*. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya⁵ (1/7/10-11) emphasizes the *artha* aspect & gives prominence to it. It makes the *Dharma* & *Kāma*, as subordinate to it. Manu⁶ (2/224) refers to the various views, regarding the prominence of one over

the other of the first three *puruṣārthas* and declares that the triad of *puruṣārthas*, namely-*Dharma*, *artha* & *kāma* are aggregatively important. Yājñavalkya⁷ (I.II5b) & Gautama (1.9.46) also seem to endorse the same view of *trivarga*.

But it is noteworthy that *mokṣa* is not at all mentioned or considered by Manu etc. in their treatment. Devala has not at all employed the above conventional terms like *Dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* & *mokṣa* in his exposition. He does not verbally agree with or subscribe to the view of *trivarga*. His approach to the concept of *puruṣārtha* is distinctive. According to Devala, both the *puruṣārthas*, namely *abhyudaya* & *niḥśreyasa* can be acquired by *Dharma* & hence he included the exposition of *niḥśreyasa* also in his *Smṛti*-text. The *Mahābhārata*⁸ (*svargās*. 5.62) mentions the view of *Dharma*, being superior to *artha* & *kāma*, as through the practice of *Dharma*, one can secure the other two also. Devala seems to indicate that even *mokṣa* can be obtained by *Dharma*. Śaṅkarācārya⁹ (Introduction to *Bhagavadgītā*) refers to two kinds of *Dharma*- *pravṛttilakṣaṇa* & *nivṛttilakṣaṇa*. Buddha(1)¹⁰ also mentions the *Dharma* to be the means of *śreyas* & *abhyudaya*. While Vasiṣṭha¹¹ (1/1) holds that *Dharma* is conducive to the emancipation of *puruṣa*.

The concept of *puruṣārtha* is also very much current in the *Sāṅkhya* & *Yoga* systems. The *Sāṅkhya-sūtra*¹² (1.1) mentions the total destruction of the threefold sufferings, to be the ultimate *puruṣārtha*. The term *puruṣārtha*¹³ occurs at about five times in the *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* & has been interpreted as referring to *bhoga* (enjoyment) & *apavarga* (emancipation) by Vācaspati Miśra in his commentary. Patañjali, in the *Yogasūtra*¹⁴ (II/10), also seems to endorse the same view.

There is great influence of *Sāṅkhya* theories upon Devala as he also believes in two-fold *puruṣārtha*. But the prominent distinction between the two is that Devala represents both of them as the aspects of *Dharma* only. *Dharma* is ground or basis, upon which the two are dependent.

Devala further adds that beasts are not entitled for the two-fold *puruṣārtha*, as they are bereft of *Dharma* while human beings & gods only are qualified for the same.

3. THE SĀṆKHYA PHILOSOPHY :

(A) INTERPRETATION OF THE TERM 'SĀṆKHYA' :

The term *Sāṅkhya*, according to Devala (2206) means right understanding of 25 principles. The knowledge of these principles is very necessary for understanding the difference between the Self & not-Self & consequently for obtaining the final release or emancipation. There is a famous verse¹⁵, declaring that the knower of 25 principles, in whatever stages & conditions of life he may be, is liberated. The person, who has realized such a distinction between Self & not-Self can understand the 24 principles as distinct from his Self. Hence he is described as a *Sāṅkhya* (*Sāṅkhyāyante- ganyante padārthāḥ yena sah*). Devala also regards such a person possessing discriminative realization or discerning faculty as a real *Sāṅkhya* (2441). The Supreme Reality, the goal of *Yogins*, the *Brahman* is also described as *Sāṅkhya* by the author (2473). The *Yogasūtra* (IV. 29)¹⁶ & the commentator Vyāsa (on *Yogasūtra* I.15 & II.2) most probably seem to use the word *prasaṅkhyāna* in the sense of discriminative knowledge of 24 principles & the Self like Devala. While the 'real knowledge of the pure nature of Self' is also represented as *Sāṅkhya* in the quotation of Vyāsa¹⁷. Here there is no reference to the knowledge of 24 principles. The term *Sāṅkhya* in *Śvetāśvatara Up.* (6.12)¹⁸ is in the sense of knowledge of Vedic Reality, according to Śaṅkarācārya¹⁹ (*Bh. S.* 2.1.3.), while *Bhāmātikāra*²⁰ explains it as *Sāṅkhyā* means proper vedic wisdom and those who follow it are called *Sāṅkhyas*. The *Bhagavadgītā*²¹ (2.39, 5.4, 5.5, 13.24, 18/13), also has employed the term in the sense of *tattvajñāna* (knowledge of reality) and also in the sense of a person, knowing the Ultimate Reality²² (3.3, 5.5).

Thus it is evident that Devala interprets the term in accordance with the standpoint of *Sāṅkhya* philosophy & hence includes the knowledge of 24 principles along with Self to be necessary. While the *Vedāntins* do not mention the knowledge of 24 principles to be so indispensable. The *Sāṅkhyas* strive to realize the Self, in rational manner, through the gradual realization of the various principles (i.e. not-Self), in the

ascending order (*ārohakṛma*). While the *Vedāntins*, try to realize the Self only, without any attempt to know the not-Self. By the knowledge of one reality the *Brahman*, everything becomes known; nothing remains to be known. (*ekenaiva vijñātena sarvam vijñātam bhavati*).

(B) CONCEPT OF MŪLIKĀRTHAS :

The ten fundamental principles of *Sāṅkhya* philosophy are enumerated in a verse (2236) in *upajāti* metre. The verse is very important from the point of view of the *Sāṅkhya* philosophy. It can also throw some light upon the date of Devala.

ANTIQUITY OF THE CONCEPT :

The concept of *mūlikārtha* seems to be very ancient one, because Devala has borrowed it from some ancient works on *Sāṅkhya* & *Yoga* (2210). It is not found in the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* or the *Sāṅkhyasūtra*. Among the extant *Sāṅkhya* works, the *Tattvasamāsa* (18) alone refers to this concept, but the small work does not explain it. The work is of an uncertain date. Prof. Max Muller²³ thinks it to be an earliest work. While most of the scholars²⁴ (like Keith, Garbe, Sovani etc.) assign it to a later date. Dr. V.V. Sovani²⁵ believes it to be older than 7th century A.D. But the concept of *mūlikārtha* is even mentioned by *Paramārtha* (546 A.D.) in his Chinese translation. Vācaspati Miśra (on *Kā.* 72) quotes also *anuṣṭubh* verses, that enumerate *mūlikārthas* from some ancient work called *Rajavārtika* (a work, probably now lost). Moreover, the commentary *Jayamaṅgalā* (on *Kā.* 51) also quotes a verse of *Saṅgrahakāra*, similar to that in the present text. Thus it is clear that though this concept is neglected in the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* & the *Sāṅkhya-sūtra*, it is one of the most ancient & fundamental concepts of *Sāṅkhya* philosophy.

COMPARISON :

The above verse, mentioned by Devala is also found in

some commentaries of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* & the *Tattvasamāsa*. The variant readings, from those works are noted below :

TABLE NO. 6

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1) <i>Māṭharavṛtti</i> on <i>Kā. 72</i> - | (1) <i>Pārārthyam</i> for <i>Parārtham</i>
(2) <i>Viśeṣavṛttiḥ</i> for <i>ca śeṣavṛttiḥ</i> |
| 2) <i>Jayamaṅgalā</i> on <i>Kā. 51</i> - | (1) <i>Pārārthyam</i> for <i>Parārtham</i>
(2) <i>Akartṭbhāvaḥ</i> for <i>Atho nivṛttiḥ</i> |
| 3) <i>Sāṅkhyatattvavivecana-</i>
com. on <i>Tattvasamāsa</i>
(<i>Sāṅkhyasaṅgraha. p. 22</i>) | (1) <i>Ekatvayāthārthavatve</i> for
<i>Ekatvamathārthavatvam</i>
(2) <i>Pārārthyam</i> for <i>Parārtham</i>
(3) <i>Akartṭkatvam</i> for <i>Atho-Nivṛttiḥ</i> |
| (4) <i>Tattvayāthārthyadīpana-</i>
com. on <i>Tattvasamāsa</i>
(<i>Sāṅkhyasaṅgraha, p. 80</i>) | (1) <i>Akartṭtā ca</i> for <i>Atho Nivṛttiḥ</i> |
| 5) <i>Kramadīpikā-</i>
com. on <i>Tattvasamāsa</i>
(<i>Sāṅkhyasaṅgraha, p. 135</i>) | (1) <i>Akartṭtā ca</i> for <i>Atho nivṛttiḥ</i> |

It is evident that there is difference about the sixth fundamental principle. Most of the above commentaries read *akartṭtva* for *atho nivṛttiḥ* mentioned in the Reconstructed text.

A SIMILAR ENUMERATION FROM RĀJAVĀRTIKA :

The ten fundamental principles of *Sāṅkhya* philosophy are also enumerated in the verses in *anuṣṭubh* metre. Vācaspati Miśra²⁶ (com. on *Sāṅ. Kā. 72*) & *Sarvopakāriṇī* (com. on *Tattvasamāsa*) quote it from the *Rajavārtika*. It is also found in the introductory verses of the *Yuktidīpikā* commentary (p.1) on the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*.

The difference between Devala & the above enumeration is as follows-(1) The above verse mentions *akartṭtva*, which is not found in the text of Devala. (2) While '*atho nivṛttiḥ*' mentioned by Devala, is not found in the above enumeration. (3) The term *anaikya*' is used instead of the words '*bahavaḥ pumāṁsaḥ*' in the present text.

EXPLANATION :

The following ten fundamental principles are enumerated in the text. (1) *Astīva* (existence), (2) *Ekatva* (singularity), (3) *Arthavattva* (utility), (4) *Parārtham* (serving the purpose of other), (5) *Anyatva* (distinction), (6) *Nivṛttiḥ* (desistence or separation), (7) *Yoga* & (8) *Viyoga*-(contact & discontact), (9) *Bahavaḥ pumāṁsaḥ*-(plurality of Selves), (10) *Śarīrasya sthitiḥ śeṣavṛttiśca*- (existence & subordination i.e. tendency towards dependence of body).

These are briefly explained below.

The commentators (*Vācaspati-kā-72, Jayamaṅgalā (Kā. 51)*) point out that *ekatva*, *arthavattva* & *parārtha* are applicable only to *pradhāna*, the *anyatva*, *akartṭtva*, *bahutva* are related to *puruṣa* only, while the *astīva*, *viyoga*, & *yoga* are with reference to both *prakṛti* & *puruṣa* & the last is in connection with the gross & subtle bodies.

TABLE NO. 7

<i>Pradhāna</i>	<i>Puruṣa</i>	<i>Both</i>
<i>Ekatva</i>	<i>Anyatva</i>	<i>Astīva</i>
<i>Arthavattva</i>	<i>Akartṭtva</i>	<i>Yoga</i>
<i>Parārtham</i>	<i>Bahutva</i>	<i>Viyoga</i>

1. ASTITVA :

This is the first fundamental principle, meaning 'existence' applicable to both *pradhāna* & *puruṣa*. It means that the *prakṛti* & *puruṣa* are not imaginary principles, but are real & existent. Several arguments, containing the proofs for the existence of both are put forth in the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* (15 & 17) & the *Sāṅkhyasūtra* (1/140-144).

2. EKATVA :

This is the second cardinal principle, meaning 'singularity or oneness', applicable only to the *prakṛti*. The *Prakṛti* is one only. There are no distinct *prakṛtis* for numerous *puruṣas*.

Though plurality of Self is advocated as a reality, there is no assumption of plurality of *prakṛti*. This explicit clarification about oneness of *prakṛti* is necessary, as there was also an ancient view, mentioned²⁷ by Guṇaratna Sūri, that the ancient school, of *Sāṅkhya* believed in the plurality of *prakṛti*. The *Yuktidīpikā* (com. on *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, p. 141) mentions²⁸ that the *Sāṅkhya* teacher Paurika had maintained the view of distinct *prakṛti* for each *puruṣa*.

But according to the commentator Gauḍapāda²⁹ not only *prakṛti*, but even *puruṣa* also is in reality one. Thus the principle of oneness, would be applicable to both *puruṣa* & *prakṛti*, according to his explanation.

3. ARTHAVATTVA :

This is the third fundamental principle, meaning 'utility', applicable only to *prakṛti*, according to commentaries-*Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī* & *Jayamaṅgalā*. But it can be said to be applicable to both *puruṣa* & *prakṛti*. Both of them have some purpose or end (*artha*) to be served from each other. The *prakṛti* is unconscious but active, while *puruṣa* is inactive but conscious. Hence they are mutually helpful & interdependent. They are not able to accomplish their objectives independently. The *prakṛti* & *puruṣa* are said to be acting like the blind & the lame, that help each other to serve their purpose. The *Prakṛti* requires that it should be seen by the *puruṣa*, so that there would be the production of the whole world, when it is in contact with *puruṣa*. But the *puruṣa* cannot obtain liberation, without the discriminative knowledge of his distinction from *prakṛti* (cf. *Sāṅ. Kā.* 21, *Sāṅ. S.* 2/1).

It seems that Vācaspati & *Jayamaṅgalā* maintain that the two purposes are served by *prakṛti* only & hence they explain this principle to be applicable only to it.

4. PARĀRTHA :

This is the fourth fundamental principle, meaning 'serving purpose of the other' applicable only to the *prakṛti*. This indicates that the activity of *prakṛti* is for serving the purpose

of *puruṣa*. The *Prakṛti* only expects that it should be seen by the *puruṣa*. It does not desire anything else from the *puruṣa*. The *Puruṣa* is able to obtain both-*bhoga*- enjoyment & *apavarga*-emancipation due to *prakṛti*. It serves both these ends of *puruṣa*. It binds & also releases him from the bondage. Just as the dancer entertains the audience with her dance or milk of the cow flows naturally for her calf or a camel carries the burden for the sake of his master; similarly *prakṛti* exerts herself for the sake of *puruṣa*, as if for her own purpose. Just as a dancer returns from the stage, after entertaining the audience, the *prakṛti* also, having disclosed her nature to *puruṣa*, returns from him. Thus all her activities are meant for the sake of fulfilling the purposes of the *puruṣa* (cf. *Sāṅ. kā.* 56-60; *Sāṅ. s.* 3/58, 6/40).

5. ANYATVA :

This is the fifth principle, meaning 'distinction' applicable only to *puruṣa*, according to Vācaspati & *Jayamaṅgalā*. *Puruṣa* is a distinct entity, assumed by the *Sāṅkhyas*. *Puruṣa* & *Prakṛti* are two separate principles, quite dissimilar in their qualities. The *Sāṅkhyakārikā* (11) has properly distinguished the two from the point of view of their qualities. Hence *puruṣa* can be really described as 'distinct' (*anya*) from *prakṛti* (cf. *Sāṅ. kā.* 11, *Sāṅ. S.* 1/139).

6. ATHO NIVṚTTIḤ :

This is the sixth principle, meaning desistance, not mentioned by some commentators, who read '*akartṛtva*' for it. This principle is applicable to *puruṣa* in the sense that he realizes his distinction from the *prakṛti* & obtains the discriminative knowledge & gets himself released from the bondage of *prakṛti*. This principle may also apply to *prakṛti*, as she discloses her real nature to the *puruṣa*, releases him from the bondage & departs or withdraws herself from him.

7. & 8. YOGA & VIYOGA :

There are 7th & 8th principles, meaning 'contact &

discontact', applicable to both *prakṛti* & *puruṣa*. The *Sāṅkhyas* assume that there is a contact between the two, result of which is the disappearance of the equilibrium of *prakṛti* & the production of the phenomenal world, in gradual stages. This assumption of *Sāṅkhyas* has given rise to 'a number of puzzling problems'.

While the other principle is the opposite of the above. It is disconnection between the two. When the *puruṣa* has obtained discerning knowledge regarding the distinction of himself from the *prakṛti*, he has no purpose left to be served by *prakṛti*. The *Prakṛti*, itself withdraws from him & the result is the discontact, dissociation between or separation from the *prakṛti*.

9. BAHAVAḤ PUMĀMSAḤ :

This is the ninth principle, meaning plurality of self, applicable only to the *puruṣa*. Though the *Sāṅkhyas* propound the theory of oneness of *prakṛti*, they maintain *puruṣa* to be infinite in number. Several arguments, in defence of this view, are advanced in the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* & the *Sāṅkhyasūtra*. (*Sāṅ. Kā.* 18, *Sāṅ. S.* 1/149, 6/45).

10. ŚARĪRASYA STHITIḤ ŚEṢAVṚTTIŚCA :

This is the tenth principle, meaning 'existence & subordination of the body' applicable to the subtle & gross body. Both these kinds of bodies are under the influence of *Karma*. The presence or existence of these is dependent upon it. Eventhough the person may have obtained the supreme knowledge, that releases him from the bondage, the body continues for some period & experiences the good & bad effects of the earlier fructified actions (*prārabdha karma*). The wheel of the potter continues to revolve for sometime through inertia, though he has stopped moving it; In the same manner, the body continues, until the effects of the *karmas* (actions) are exhausted. (*Sāṅ. Kā.* 67, *Sāṅ. S.* 3/82, 83).

(C) THE THREE KINDS OF BODIES :

There is a vivid & minute description of the real nature

of the body, which is of three kinds, namely that of gods, human beings & lower beings (2264-2267). These three bodies are quite different in their nature. The peculiar characteristics of each of them are properly described in the text. Such a description of the threefold body is not to be found in the extant works of *Sāṅkhyas*. The mention of threefold creation, that of gods, human beings & lower beings is found in the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* & the *Sāṅkhyasūtra* (*Sāṅ. Kā.* 53/54, *Sāṅ. S.* 3/46- 50). But it is quite different & cannot be compared with the detailed elucidation given by Devala. This point also suggests that Devala is not in any way indebted to the extant works of *Sāṅkhyas*. His exposition is based upon some ancient lost works on *Sāṅkhyas*, as is clear from his explicit statement to that effect. (2210).

(D) THE FOUR MATERNAL & FOUR PATERNAL SHEATHS :

Devala refers to the four maternal & four paternal sheaths. (2221). But such eight sheaths are not mentioned in the three extant primary works of *Sāṅkhyas* system namely-the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, the *Sāṅkhyasūtra* & the *Tattvasamāsa*. Devala has borrowed this concept also from the ancient works of *Sāṅkhyas*, in which the discussion of such topic might be there.

The *Sāṅkhyakārikā* (39) refers to the gross bodies by the term '*mātāpitṛjāh*'. While commenting upon the above *kārikā*, Vacaspati Misra³⁰ explains that there are six sheaths-three-hair, blood & flesh, from the maternal side & three-muscles, bones & marrow, from the paternal side. The verses³¹, quoted by Pandit Shivanarayana Shastri in his commentary on the above verse & in his Introduction also refer to the same concept of six sheaths- three paternal & three maternal-that constitute the body. The *Sāṅkhyasūtra* (3/7)³² refers to the gross body as mostly the product of maternal & paternal elements, but does not mention the concept of sheaths.

The commentery *Yuktidīpikā*³³ (p. 120) refers to the six sheaths, as explained previously. But it adds that some explain the sheaths to be eight. i.e. the six already mentioned & two

that are formed by *āśita* (whatever is eaten) & *pīta* (drunk). But it is not clear, why the latter two are also included under the term *mātrja* & *pitṛja* sheaths.

The eight stages of realisation referred to in the *Upaniṣadic* literature are-(1) *Annamaya*, (2) *Prāṇamaya*, (3) *Manomaya*, (4) *Vijñānamaya*, (5) *Jñānamaya*, (6) *Cinmaya*, (7) *Ānandamaya*, & (8) *Brahmamaya*; The five of them are quite well-known as sheaths and are referred to in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, while last five are referred to in the *Gaṇeśātharvaśīrṣa*³⁴.

(E) THE FIVE PRĀṆAS & THEIR FUNCTIONS :

Devala mentions five kinds of vital breaths (2222). The functions & locations of each of them in the body are also explained (2402- 2406). The *Sāṅkhyakārikā* does not accept the view of the separate functioning of *prāṇas*. It only refers to the five kinds of vital airs & states³⁵ that it is the common function of organs (*karāṇas*-10 external and 3 internal). The *Sāṅkhyasūtra* (2/31) also reiterates the same in identical words. The *Tattvasamāsa* (12) alone clearly speaks of five kinds of vital airs, in an independent *sūtra*, which is similar to that of Devala. Thus Devala differs from the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* & the *Sāṅkhyasūtra*, regarding the theory of *prāṇas*. The *Sāṅkhyayoga-Tantras*, which Devala followed, might have had incorporated the theory of separate functioning of five *prāṇas*.

The *Tarkasaṅgraha* (p. 38)³⁶ mentions that there is only one kind of vital air, but it is designated as *prāṇa*, *apāna* etc., only on account of the difference in the adjuncts of location & function. Thus according to this work, the breath is only of one kind. This is also opposed to the view of Devala, propounding separate functioning of each vital air.

The locations of five vital airs, mentioned in the text are somewhat different from those, referred to in the off-quoted verse³⁷. The difference between Devala & the above verse is as follows :

TABLE NO. 8

	Devala	the off-quoted verse
1. <i>Prāṇaḥ</i>	<i>Ūrdhvam nābhergataḥ</i>	<i>Hṛdi</i>
2. <i>Apānaḥ</i>	<i>Adho nābheḥ</i>	<i>Gude</i>
3. <i>Vyānaḥ</i>	<i>śākhāsambandhiskandhāviṣṭaḥ</i>	<i>Sarvaśarīragataḥ</i>
4. <i>Udānaḥ</i>	<i>Bāhūrugrīvācākṣupārśvagataḥ</i>	<i>Kaṇṭhadeśasthaḥ</i>
5. <i>Samānaḥ</i>	<i>Śrotrahṛdayanābhigataḥ</i>	<i>Nābhisaṁsthitaḥ</i>

Mm. P.V. Kane³⁸ refers to the controversy regarding the meaning of the term *prāṇa* & *apāna*. *Prāṇa*, according to Caland, Keith, Dumout & a few others means 'expiration' in ancient Vedic literature, & *apāna* means 'inspiration'. But this meaning underwent a change in the later days, according to these scholars. "On the other hand, almost all sanskrit commentators & writers & G.W. Brown, Edgerton & others hold the opposite view". Mm. P.V. Kane³⁹ is of the opinion that "*Prāṇa* meant & means inhalation or thoracic breath", while '*apāna*' means 'abdominal breath'. While referring to the view of Devala & Śaṅkarācārya in support of his interpretation, he writes⁴⁰, "Not only Śaṅkarācārya but a much earlier authority viz. the *Dharmasūtra* of Devala (mentioned by Śaṅkarācārya.....) defines the working of *prāṇa* & *apāna* as done by Śaṅkarācārya in his *bhāṣya* on *Br. Up.* 1.5.3'.

(F) THE TANMĀTRĀS, KNOWN TO THE TANTRAS OF SĀṅKHYAYOGA :

Devala has mentioned five subtle elements, called *tanmātrās* of sound, touch, colour, taste & smell (2214, 2039, 2240, 2253), (cf. *Sāṅ. Kā.* 38). They are said to be of the nature of mere existence i.e. generic essence, having no specific qualities.

The mention of the concept of *tanmātrā* in the text, is very important for determining the antiquity of the theory of *tanmātrās* & the chronological position of Devala. The term does not mostly occur in the principal *Upaniṣads*. "The *Mahābhārata* also in its exposition of the *Sāṅkhya* doctrine,

does not generally speak of the *tanmātrās* & mention the five sense-objects in their place. This fact indicates that the *tanmātra* theory is a later modification of the *Sāṅkhya* system", writes⁴¹ Dr. Punimbihari Chakravarti. The same scholar further points⁴² out that "Neither *Caraka* nor *Aśvaghōṣa* (in his *Buddhacarita*) mentions the *tanmātrās* & both of them count the objects of senses as the *tattvas*". Dr. Anima Sengupta⁴³ also remarks that "the *tanmātrās* are omitted in many accounts (in the Epics, the *Gītā*, the *Caraka-saṁhitā* etc.) & in their places, some sort of subtle *bhūtas* (elements) are substituted". Prof. Surendranath Dasgupta⁴⁴ mentions that "*Caraka* does not mention the *tanmātrās* at all".

But the theory of *tanmātrās* is mentioned or indicated in the following references.

- (1) The term 'Mātrā' in the sense of *tanmātrā* is found in the *Praśna Upaniṣad* (4/8)⁴⁵ & the term *tanmātrā* is explicitly mentioned in the *Maitrāyaṇi Upaniṣad* (3/2)⁴⁶.
- (2) The *Ahīrbudhnyasaṁhitā*⁴⁷ (12/23) gives a detailed account of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*, wherein 'mātrātantra' is mentioned as one among them.
- (3) It is incidentally mentioned at some places in the *Mahābhārata*⁴⁸. In the *Bhagavadgītā* (2/14)⁴⁹, the term *mātrā* occurs & the five subtle elements are referred to in the verse (VII. 4)⁵⁰.
- (4) Though the term 'tanmātrā' does not occur in the *Caraka* & the *Buddhacarita*, there is mention of some sort of subtle elements, which take the place of these *tanmātrās*. (*Buddhacarita*,⁵¹ Ch.12/18, *Caraka śārīra*, 1/62).
- (5) The *Manusmṛti*⁵² (1.27) also mentions some sort of subtle elements called 'mātrā'.
- (6) The *Yogasūtra*⁵³ of Patañjali refers to the theory of *tanmātrās* by the term 'sūkṣma' in the *sūtra* 3/43 as interpreted by the commentator Vyāsa.
- (7) The most explicit mention of *tanmātrā* is found⁵⁴ in the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (3/179) & in the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* (38).

In sum, the subtle elements like *tanmātrās* were admitted in the period even before Christian era. They are sometimes referred to as *mātrā*, While during the early centuries of Christian era, they are categorically referred to as *tanmātrās*.

But it can be maintained that the theory of *tanmātrā* is an ancient one, for the following reasons also.

- (1) It is evident that the concept of *tanmātrās* found in the present text was borrowed by Devala from some ancient *Tantra* works of *Sāṅkhya* (as he himself has admitted his indebtedness). Hence the theory of *tanmātrās* must have been definitely propounded in those *Tantra*-works.
- (2) The *Sāṅkhyakārikā* (38) mentions the theory of *tanmātrās*. The exposition of *Sāṅkhyakārikā* was also based upon the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* & the knowledge that was handed down through the successive series of *Sāṅkhya* Teachers. This fact also clearly indicates that the concept of *tanmātrās* is not a new concept of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, but was borrowed from the ancient works of *Sāṅkhya*.
- (3) Thirdly, Śaṅkarācārya⁵⁵ (2/2/10) points out that the *Sāṅkhyas*, sometimes explain the origin of *tanmātrās* from *mahat*, while at some other places, from *ahaṅkāra*. Thus there was controversy in the *Sāṅkhya* works themselves, regarding the origin of *tanmātrās*. This view must have been based upon the ancient *Sāṅkhya* works, which Śaṅkarācārya definitely had before him, because like Devala, he also alludes to the extensive *Tantras* of *Sāṅkhya* system. (cf. *Smṛtiśca tantrākhyā paramarṣipraṇītā*.....*Bh. S.S.* 2/1/1 & *tathā mahājanaparigṛhītāni mahānti sāṅkhyāditantrāṇi Bh.S.S.* 2/2/1). Some quotations on *Yoga*, mentioned by Śaṅkarācārya also are not found in the extant works of *Sāṅkhya* & *Yoga*. This suggests that even Śaṅkarācārya had before him some ancient *Tantra* works of *Sāṅkhya* & *Yoga*, which are completely lost now. Like Śaṅkarācārya, Devala also had before him such ancient works on the basis of which the entire

exposition of *Śāṅkhya* & *Yoga* was erected by him. Hence the theory of *tanmātrās* can be traced to those ancient works.

Thus the concept of *tanmātrās* is an ancient one, being expounded in the ancient *Tantra* works of *Śāṅkhyayoga*, which were accessible to Devala, *Śāṅkhyakārikā* & even *Śāṅkarācārya*. Hence the mention of *tanmātrās* by Devala supports the view of placing Devala, in the period, earlier to the *Śāṅkhyakārikā*.

4. THE YOGA PHILOSOPHY :

(A) INTERPRETATION OF THE TERM YOGA :

The another way to obtain *niḥśreyasa* is *Yoga*. *Yoga* is defined as fixing or establishing (i.e. concentration) of mind, upon the intended (internal) entity, after having turned it away from the external objects (2207). The sense-objects are surrounding the senses & the tendency of mind & senses towards them is quite natural & unavoidable. The withdrawing of mind from them & making it introverted requires much training & practice. The practical way, that aims at this objective is *Yoga*, which also leads one gradually to the same purpose of emancipation.

The term '*Yoga*' can be derived from the root '*Yuj*' which occurs in the following shades of meaning in three different conjugations⁵⁶.

- 1) *Yuj*-(4. Ā) *Samādhau*-to concentrate the mind-*Yujyate*
- 2) *Yuj*-(7. U) *Yoge*-to unite, to put to, to appoint, to give, to prepare etc. *Yuñjati-te*
- 3) *Yuj*-(10. U)-*Samyamane*-to join etc. *Yojayati-te*
- 4) *Yuj*-(10. Ā.)-to censure-*Yojayate*

Among these, the last one is not useful for the interpretation of the term *Yoga*. *Yoga* is thus, a process of concentrating, uniting or joining the mind with the internal entity namely the Self.

*Patañjali*⁵⁷ (1.2) explains the term in a technical sense.

Yoga is cessation of mental modifications. Devala is not indebted to *Patañjali* for interpretation of *Yoga*. The commentator *Vyāsa*⁵⁸ (on *Yogasūtra* 1/1) states that *Yoga* is spiritual absorption. He, thus, interprets the term from the root *Yuj* (*Samādhau* 4. Ā) to concentrate.

The *Yoga*, as expounded by Devala is a true *Yoga*. It is not *haṭhayoga*. He speaks of properly turning away of mind from the objects. There is no suppression or forceful restraint of mind, nor does he speak of blindly controlling the senses. If there is blind control of senses, the mind, yet, may wander among the sense-objects. Hence according to Devala, there should be in reality, the turning away of mind from sense-objects (cf. *Bhagavadgītā*, 3/6-7).

(B) AUXILIARIES OF YOGA :

PRĀṆĀYĀMA-(BREATH-CONTROL) :

Devala explains the breath-control to be of three kinds-*kumbha*, *recana* & *pūraṇa* (2395-2399). The extant *Yogasūtra* & the commentator *Vyāsa* do not mention these terms, while explaining the concept of *prāṇāyāma*. The terms *śvāsa*, *praśvāsa* & *gativiccheda* are employed in the *Yogasūtra*.⁵⁹ (2/49) & three kinds of *prāṇāyāma* is indicated in the phrase-*bāhyābhyantarastambhavṛttiḥ* in the *Yogasūtra*⁶⁰ (2/50). The *Yogasūtra*⁶¹ (1/34) mentions the terms *prachardana* & *vidhāraṇa*. The *Śāṅkhyasūtra* (3/33)⁶² also uses similar terms but the terms, *kumbha*, *recana*, *pūraṇa* etc. used by Devala are not found in the above works. Devala does not follow any of these works. He has borrowed these terms from the ancient but lost works of *Śāṅkhya-Yoga*. The *Viṣṇu purāṇa*⁶³ (V/10/14), the *Bṛhadhyogiyājñavalkya smṛti* (8/9-10 & 19- 21) & *Vācaspati* (on *Yogasūtra* II. 50) mention above three terms.

Further divisions of the *prāṇāyāma* into *mṛdu* (soft or mild), *manda* (slow) & *tikṣṇa* (swift) are mentioned by Devala, in accordance with the number of *udvātas*, (breaths), one, two & three respectively (2400). The *Yogasūtra*⁶⁴ (2/50) seems to indicate twofold division-*dirgha* (prolonged) & *sūkṣma* (short), based upon space, time & number. But *Vyāsa*⁶⁵ refers like

Devala to the three varieties, based on number-viz. *mṛdu*, *madhya*, & *tīvra*.

The term *udvāta* is found in the *Devala-sūtra* & it is also explained by the author (2400-2401). But in the com. of Vyāsa (Y.S. 2/50) & the *Rājamārtanḍa*⁶⁶, the term *udghāta* is employed. M.n.P.V. Kane⁶⁶ suggests the reading 'Udghāta', for the *Devala-sūtra* also. He also suggests the reading *āhatya* for *āhṛtya*. The term '*udvāta*' only is retained in the present reconstructed text, as it is the reading, that is found, in the *Kṛtyakalpataru*, one of the earliest authorities that might have had the original text of Devala. It can suggest the proper sense (*Ud*=upwards, *vāta*=breath) viz. the process in which the breath is taken upwards, upto the head. The term *āhatya* would suggest the sense of dashing against the head, while *āhṛtya* can mean that breath is forcibly brought towards the head. It suggests the *yogin's* control upon the breath. It is presumable that Devala's reading can be traced to the ancient *Sāṅkhya* works.

The conditions under which the *prāṇāyāma* is not be performed, are enumerated in the text (2407). They are as follows- when one is, (1) tired, (2) desirous of knowing, (3) desirous of sleeping, (4) perturbed, (5) hungry, (6) suffering from disease, (7) troubled by heat & cold, (8) having speedy impulse of excretion. Such circumstances are not found in the extant *Yogasūtras* or *Sāṅkhyasūtras*.

PRATYĀHĀRA :

The mind is atomic, restless, light & forceful & hence it is very difficult to control it. It may swerve or fail in the practice of *Yoga*. The *pratyāhāra*, according to Devala, is the repeated attempt of bringing back & establishing mind upon the intended object (namely the Self) (2408). Here also Devala emphasizes upon the turning away & controlling of the mind. He does not refer to the control of senses from the sense-objects. The latter can naturally be achieved, when the mind has been properly restrained. Patañjali's explanation is different in this respect. When senses, not coming in the contact with their respective sense-objects, follow or flow towards as it were the mind (*citta*)-that stage is known as *pratyāhāra*,

according to *Yogasūtra*⁶⁷ (2/54). Devala does not employ the technical term '*citta*' like Patañjali.

The term '*artha*' in the text means '*Ātman*' as explained by Lakṣmīdhara (K.K.M. p. 173). *Pratyāhāra* is an attempt of yoking of mind to the self. The term '*artha*' also occurs in the *sūtra* (2207), defining *Yoga*. The word '*ātman*' is actually used in the *sūtra* (2409), explaining *dhāraṇā*. Thus Devala's procedure of *Yoga* is more akin to the *Upaniṣadic* than with that of the extant *Yogasūtras*.

While pointing out the peculiar qualities of the mind, Devala refers to the atomic nature of it. The *Sāṅkhyasūtra*⁶⁸ (3/14) also seems to endorse the same view. While the commentator Vyāsa (on *Yogsūtra* 4/10) points out the view of *Ācāryas*⁶⁹ (celebrated teachers of that school) that they believed in the pervasive nature of the *citta*. The *Nyāya* & *Vaiśeṣika* systems⁷⁰ believe in the atomic nature of mind while the *Mīmāṃsakas*⁷¹ maintain the view of all-pervading nature of mind. Devala might be influenced by the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* schools in this respect.

DHĀRAṆĀ :

Devala explains *dhāraṇā* as a process of holding body, senses, mind, intellect & the self (all directed towards one & one objective only) (2409). The *Aparārka* (p. 1025) explains the word *Ātman* as *ahaṅkāra* here. But it seems to be improper as (1) the author himself could have used the word *ahaṅkāra* in the text, instead of *Ātman*, (2) Secondly, the mention of *ahaṅkāra* after mind & intellect, would be improper.

DHYĀNA :

The nature & procedure of *dhyāna* are described elaborately in a long *sūtra* (2410). The definitions of *dhyāna*, found in the *Yogasūtra*⁷² (3/2) & the *Sāṅkhyasūtras* (3/30 & 6/25) refer merely to some aspect of it, while Devala's explanation is a more detailed one, dealing with all the practical aspects of it. Devala is evidently not influenced by the above *sūtras*.

The *dhyāna* is a process of contemplation upon 'That'

(*tat*). This '*tat*' may be interpreted⁷³ as standing for the *Upaniṣadic Brahman*, which is sometimes indicated by the use of the word '*that*' (*tat*). This suggests the Vedāntic influence on the text.

Devala clearly refers to the two kinds of postures, namely *svastika* & *bhadraka*. The extant *Yogasūtra* does not mention any kind of posture, technically known as *āsana*. Acc. to *Yogasūtra* (2/46)⁷⁴, *āsana* is that which is stable & comfortable. This indicates that any posture, which is of this nature, is to be followed for the practice of *Yoga*. This does not mean that the various *āsanās* (postures) were not prevalent in those days, because Devala has mentioned *āsanās* here, while explaining *dhyāna*, on the authority of ancient works of *Sāṅkhya-yoga*.

The commentators Vyāsa (Y.S. 2/46) etc. mention many *āsanās*. Kālidāsa refers⁷⁵ to *Virāsana* in the *Kumārasambhava* (3/45 & 59) & Yājñavalkya⁷⁶ (1/278, 280) to *bhadrāsana*. The *Dakṣasmṛti*⁷⁷ (VIII. 5) mentions *padmāsana* & Yājñavalkya (3/198)⁷⁸ also seems to refer to it. These references would definitely suggest that the *āsanās* were quite well-known in the early centuries of Christian era & might be prevalent even before it, as the ancient *Sāṅkhya-Yoga Tantras*, from which Devala has borrowed his explanation of *dhyāna*, might be referring to the *āsanās*.

(C) CONCEPT OF TAPAS :

Devala defines the term *tapas* as mortification or heating of the body by means of the practice of vows, fasts & rules. (2378-2394 & 8). He, systematically enumerates various virtues and activities, that constitute the *vrata*, *upavāsa* & *niyamas*. He also defines *tapas* as the practice of *dharma* (duty) as enjoined to him, in accordance with his caste & stage in life. Thus the explanation, of *tapas* is very practical and is in conformity with the dictates of *Dharmaśāstra*. He does not explain it from the philosophical standpoint.

Devala's concept can be compared with that of Gautama⁷⁹ (3/1/15) & Baudhāyana (III/10/14), as there are some common points among them. All of them enumerate some virtues & activities as constituting the *tapas*. The five rules, mentioned by Gautama are also found in Devala's

explanation, while Baudhāyana has the 'service to the preceptor', as the additional common factor along with the above five in Gautama. Baudhāyana mentions 'wearing of one garment' (*Ekavastratā*) instead of 'wearing of wet-garment'. But there is also much difference. The non-violence and non-stealing, enumerated among the constituents of *tapas* by Baudhāyana are not found in the definition of Devala & Gautama. There is much similarity between Gautama & Baudhāyana. Devala is more systematic & exhaustive than both of them.

Thus though Devala's treatment of the concept of *tapas* may seem to be similar to Gautama & Baudhāyana in some respects, he is not indebted to any of them. His approach is novel, systematic & original.

(D) UPASARGAS (OBSTACLES IN THE PRACTICE OF YOGA) :

A person may be properly practising the several means of *Yoga*, but various obstacles come in his way of obtaining perfection & obstruct the further progress of the aspirant, in his practice of *Yoga*. The obstacles are of ten kinds, according to Devala (2411). (1) *Aniṣṭābibhava*- overpowering by something undesirable, (2) *Nidrābādhā*-impediment on account of sleep, (3) *Bhayānakotpatti*-emergence of something terrifying, (4) *Jñānapīḍā*-Annoyance due to knowledge, (5) *Bhogātiśaya*-excess of pleasures, (6) *Kopanaipuṇya*-quickness in anger, (7) *Aisvaryaviśeṣa*-specific supernatural powers, (8) *Dharmamahatva*-eminence due to *Dharma* (9) *Vidhyāsthānāni*-abodes in the form of lores, (10) *Yaśodīptih*-brilliance of success.

The *Yogasūtra* (1/30)⁸⁰ also enumerates nine *antarāyas* (obstacles) & in the *sūtra* (3/36)⁸⁰, adds that supernatural powers are *upasargas* (obstacles) to the spiritual absorption. Thus though the *Yogasūtra* mentions ten obstacles in all like Devala, they are differently enumerated as *antarāyas* & *upasargas*. The term *upasarga* is only used for those obstacles, that arise due to the obtainment of supernatural powers, while all other kinds of impediments that distract the mind are called *antarāyas*. Devala does not make any such distinction.

Devala's treatment is quite different from that of the *Yogasūtra*. Several obstacles, mentioned by Devala, are not

found in the *Yogsūtra*. This may suggest that Devala is not indebted to or influenced by the extant *Yogasūtra*. He follows the ancient *Sāṅkhyayoga* works, as he has clearly admitted.

(E) THE EIGHT SUPERNATURAL POWERS :

The eight kinds of supernatural powers are developed in the *Yogin*, ardently practising *Yoga*. Devala properly points out that the first three (*aṇimā*, *mahimā*, *laghimā*) are *śārira* i.e. connected with body. While the remaining five (namely *prāpti*, *prākāmya*, *īśitva*, *vaśitva*, *yatra kāmāvasāyitva*) are *aindriya* i.e. sensory (2412-2436).

The *Yogsūtra*⁸¹ (3/44) merely refers to the divine powers like *aṇimā* etc. but no explanation of them is found in the *Yogasūtra*. But the commentator *Vyāsa* explains all of them in his commentary. There is difference in the sequence or order of them. The *laghimā* is taken before *mahimā* & *īśitva* is explained after *vaśitva*. Some⁸² omit the last one, '*yatra kāmāvasāyitva*' & instead of it, add *garimā*, as one of the divine powers.

Devala has explained the term *laghimā* as quickness or swiftness in the movement of the body, while it is also sometimes explained as opposite of *garimā* (not mentioned by Devala). The *garimā* is understood to be a power to make the body, very much heavy & is opposite of *laghimā*—the power to be able to make body light like the cotton. Devala's explanation is quite different. The powers, *īśitva*, *vaśitva* & *yatra kāmāvasāyitva* are also differently explained by Devala & *Vyāsa*⁸³ (the commentator of the *Yogasūtra*).

TABLE NO. 9

Devala	Vyāsa
1) <i>īśitva</i> —The unrestrained power by which the <i>yogin</i> can surpass even the deities.	The power of creation, destruction & Amalgamation.
2) <i>Vaśitva</i> —The power to control one's own self & thereby becomes controller of his	The power to control the physical elements & their products. The <i>Yogin</i>

	own life & birth.	becomes uncontrollable.
3) <i>Yatra-</i>	Of three kinds i.e.	The unfailing will-power,
<i>kāmāvasā</i>	entering the	by which all physical
<i>-yitva</i>	shadow, mind or body	objects, become as he
	of some other person.	wishes.

(F) ARIṢṬAS-SIGNS OF APPROACHING DEATH :

The *Yogin* can be obtain the knowledge of the approach of death either by the concentration on the *karma* (the past actions, which are of two kinds, (1) *sopakrama*- those that have started giving fruit, (2) *nirupakrama*-which have not started giving fruit and hence are accumulated or stored) or by the signs indicative of death. (cf. *Yogasūtra* 3/21)⁸⁴. During the practice of *Yoga*, the *yogin* can get the prior knowledge of his forthcoming death, which is suggested by various portents, seen by him. As such signs are seen by him, during the practice of *Yoga*, they are dealt with by Devala, in this portion of treatment of *Sāṅkhya* & *Yoga* philosophy. There is also another significance of these protents. The *Yogin*, having received the prior intimation of his death, can be ready for facing it, in the most adequate manner, as described in next topic of *utkrānti*. These omens, not only suggest his forthcoming death, but even the period, when it is likely to take place (2448-2467).

The *Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad*⁸⁵ (2/11) seems to refer to some such *ariṣṭas*. "The *śāntiparva* of the *Mahābhārata* (ch. 318-9-17), Devala quoted in the *mokṣakāṇḍa* of *Kalpataru* (pp. 248-250 about 20 verses), the *Vāyupurāṇa* (ch. 19 verses 1-32), the *Mārkaṇḍeya purāṇa* (43.1.33), (ch. 40 verses 1-33 *Veṅkateśvar* press ed.), *Liṅgapurāṇa* (*Pūrvārdha* ch. 91) & other *Purāṇas* contain the long lists of the signs of approaching death"⁸⁶. It would be interesting to make a comparative study of these accounts. But for reasons of space & time, the treatment thereof is withheld.

The works on *Jyotiṣa* (like the *Adbhutasāgara* etc.) contain chapter, dealing with *ariṣṭas*. But the *ariṣṭas*, mentioned by Devala are those seen by the *Yogin*, while practising *Yoga* (cf. *Yathāvat yogakarmanī*-2448, *Yogi*-2457, *drṣṭāriṣṭo yatiśreṣṭhaḥ*

(2472). Hence they have been arranged here in the portion of *Sāṅkhy-yoga*. There are also some other verses, found in the works on *Jyotiṣa* like the *Adbhutasāgara* etc. They have been separately collected in the appendix on *Jyotiṣa*.

5. PĀPADOṢAS-TREATMENT OF THE THREEFOLD VICES :

Devala explains elaborately the twelve mental or psychological, four bodily & six verbal vices, called *pāpadoṣas*. (2284-2371). The nature, origin, varieties & the way of their elimination are discussed, while describing the psychological vices like *moha* etc. The bodily & verbal vices are also squarely dealt with. The treatment of this topic, with such a systematic elaboration is rarely to be found elsewhere.

The *Bhagavdgītā*⁸⁷ (16/20) speaks of three vices, desire, anger & greed as the doors of hell & Arjuna is exhorted to shun all of them. The *Yogasūtra*⁸⁸ (2/34) merely points out that evil actions like killing etc. are caused by three vices namely, greed, anger & delusion. Devala explains twelve kinds of psychological vices, while the *Mahābhārata* (*Śanti*. 163=Cr. ed. 12/157) contains description of thirteen kinds of such vices (namely- *kāma*, *krodha*, *śoka*, *moha*, *vidhitsā*, *parāsutva*, *mada*, *lobha*, *mātsarya*, *īrṣyā*, *kutsā*, *asūyā* & *kṛpā*). The manner of their emergence & destruction is also briefly described. But Devala is not at all indebted to it in any way. There is not only difference in the number & enumeration of vices, but also in the exposition. Devala's exposition is more systematic, vivacious and refined than that of the *Mahābhārata*.

The elucidation of threefold vices is also found in the *Manu* & *Hārīta-smṛtis*. Both of them speak of three kinds of vices those of bodily, psychological & verbal nature. *Manu* (XII/5)⁸⁹ enumerates the following three as mental evil actions-(1) thinking about the wealth of others. (2) thinking evil of others & (3) having wrong notions. *Manu* (12/6)⁹⁰ enumerates only four kinds of verbal vices, while Devala enumerates & explains six kinds of them. The three vices, namely *pāruṣya*, *anṛta* & *paśūnya* mentioned by *Manu* are also mentioned & explained by Devala, with addition of three more vices to them.

The three sorts of bodily evil actions, mentioned by *Manu*⁹¹ (12/7) are similar to those found in the text of Devala. There is only verbal difference. But Devala has properly explained each of them & added *arthadūṣaṇam* as the fourth. To sum up, the exposition in the *Manusmṛti* is merely enumerative, while it is descriptive & exhaustive in nature in the text of Devala. However, in no way, Devala is indebted to the extant *Manusmṛti* for his exposition.

*Hārīta*⁹² (quoted in *P.M.* II, Pt. II, pp. 212-213) also enumerates eighteen evil actions, leading to hell, six of which are mental, four verbal and the rest are bodily sins. The five psychological (*parābhidroha*, *krodha*, *lobha*, *moha* & *ahaṅkāra*), the three bodily (namely *paradārābhigamana*, *dravyāpaharaṇa* & *prāṇihirṣā*) & the two vocal (*pāruṣya* & *anṛta*) vices mentioned by *Hārīta* are similar to those found in the text of Devala. Devala's exposition is descriptive & explanatory, while that of *Hārīta* is only enumerative.

TABLE NO. 10

1. Psychological vices-

Devala	Manu	Hārīta	Mahābhārata
12	3	6	13
Moha, rāga, dveṣa, māna, lobha, mada, śoka, mamatva, ahaṅkāra, bhaya, harṣa, moghacintāśceti.	Paradravyeṣva, bhidhyānam, manasāniṣṭa, cintanam, vitathābhini-veśāśca.	Paropatāpanam, parābhidrohaḥ, krodho, lobho, mohah, ahaṅkāra, kārāḥ	Kāmaḥ, Krodhaḥ, Śokaḥ, Mohaḥ, vidhitsā, parāsutvam, madaḥ, lobhaḥ, mātsaryam, īrṣyā, kutsā, asūyā, kṛpā.

2. Bodily vices-

Devala	Manu	Hārīta
4	3	8
Hirṣā, apacāraḥ, styeyam, arthadū	Adattānāmupādānam, hirṣā, paradāropasevā.	Abhakṣyabhakṣaṇam, abhojyabhojanam,

ṣaṇam.

*apeyapānam, agamyāga-
manam, ayājyayājanam,
asatpratigrahaṇam,
paradārābhigamanam,
dravyāpaharaṇam,
prāṇihimsā.*

3. Vocal vices-

Devala 6	Manu 4	Hārīta 4
<i>Paruṣavacanam, Pāruṣyam, anṛtam, apavādaḥ, paśunyam, paśunyam, asambaddhapralāpaḥ anṛtam, vṛthālāpo, niṣṭhūram.</i>	<i>Pāruṣyam, anṛtam, vivādaḥ, śrutivikrayaḥ.</i>	

6. CONCEPT OF BONDAGE & LIBERATION :

THE THREEFOLD BONDAGE :

Devala mentions that the bondage is of three kinds & its causes are also of three kinds. The attachment for bondage is of two kinds (2224-2226).

The three kinds of bondge is *prakṛtibandha*, *vaikārika bandha*, & *dakṣiṇābandha*. The first-*prakṛtibandha* is a bondage by the eight principles namely *avyakta*, *mahat*, *ahaṅkāra* & five *tanmātrās*. The second- *vaikārikabandha* is the bondage of senses with the sense- objects. While the third bondge-*dakṣiṇābandha* is caused by merits, obtained through the performance of pious & charitable deeds. The author further adds that the gods are fettered by the first one, those belonging to the particular scheme of life (*āśramī*) are bound by the third; while all others are fastened by the second bondage. (2276-2282).

In the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*⁹³ (44) & the *Sāṅkhyasūtra*⁹⁴ (3/24), there is only mention of the term 'bandha' but there is no reference to or elucidation of its nature, as found in the *sūtras* of Devala. The *Tattvasamāsa*⁹⁴ (21) specifically mentions the bondage to be of three kinds; The *sūtra* is quite identical with

the *sūtra* of Devala. But the small work-*Tattvasamāsa*- does not explain the threefold bondage.

The commentators-Vācaspati & Gauḍapāda refer to three kinds of bondage, while commenting upon the above *Sāṅkhyakārikā* (44). Gauḍapāda quotes a verse⁹⁵ that refers to the threefold bondage.

Vācaspati Miśra (com. on *Kā.* 44) & Bhāvāgaṇeśa (com. on *Tattvasamāsa* 21) have elucidated the nature of the threefold bondage in detail. The explanation of the above two commentators is compared below with that of Devala.

TABLE NO. 11

1. Prakṛtiko bandhaḥ-

	Adhikārī	Svarūpam
A) Devala	Devatāḥ	Avyaktādibhiraṣṭabhiḥ
B) Vācaspati	Prakṛterupāsakaḥ	
C) Bhāvāgaṇeśa	—	Aṣṭaparakṛtīṣu abhūmānanāpāḥ

2. Vaikāriko bandhaḥ-

	Anyeṣām	Indriyaiḥ indriyārtheṣu
A) Devala	Vikāropāsakaḥ	Bhūtendriyāhaṅkārabuddhīḥ
B) Vācaspati		puruṣabuddhyā upāsate
C) Bhāvāgaṇeśa	Pravrajitānām	Śabdādīṣu manasaḥ saṅgaḥ

3. Dakṣiṇābandhaḥ-

	Āśramiṇām	Iṣṭāpūrtādibhiḥ
A) Devala	Iṣṭāpūrtakārī	Puruṣatattvānabhijño
B) Vācaspati		hiṣṭāpūrtakārī
		kāmopamanāḥ
		badhyate.
C) Bhāvāgaṇeśa	Gṛhasthādīnām	Kāmopahatacetasām
		dakṣiṇām
		dadatām....

As mentioned above, the causes of bondage are said to be of three kinds & the attachment for bondage is of two kinds, according to Devala (2225 & 2226). The extant *Sāṅkhya* works (like the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, the *Sāṅkhyasūtra*, the

Tattvasamāsa) do not refer to both these concepts. But on *Kārikā* 63, the commentator Shivanarayana Shastri⁹⁶ following Vācaspati points out in clear terms that there are seven causes of bondage. viz. *dharma*, *adharma*, *ajñāna*, *vairāgya*, *avairāgya*, *aīśvarya*, *anaiśvarya*. Out of them, *dharma* & *ajñāna* have been explicitly mentioned by Devala in his explanation (2283). While the addition of *ādi* in the text, suggested by the researcher would include '*adharma*' also as the third cause. It is evident that other causes mentioned by the commentators are the offshoots or corollaries of the above three. The explanation of the *sūtra* '*dvau bandharāgau*' (2226) is not found in the reconstructed text. It is also not explicable even on the basis of the extant *Sāṅkhya* works. It may be that due to *ajñāna*, the twofold attachment for bondage namely of *dharma* & *adharma* arises.

The *Bhagavadgītā* (16/20) mentions *kāma*, *krodha*, & *lobha* as the three doors leading to hell. These are in other words, three causes of bondage. Among them, *kāma* & *lobha* may be understood as the two causes that give rise to the attachment for bondage. The *kāma* is the attachment for sentient substances, while *lobha* is the attachment for non-sentient substances.

APAVARGA :

Like the *Bhagavadgītā* (V.4), Devala points out that the ultimate aim of both paths, namely the *Sāṅkhya* & *Yoga* is the same i.e. the obtainment of emancipation. The term *apavarga* is used here by Devala. It is very much current in the *Nyāya-vaiśeṣika*⁹⁷ systems. It also occurs in the *Sāṅkhya* & *Yoga* systems, but the another term *Kaivalya* is more prevalent in these two systems.

The explanation of the term *apavarga* in the text of Devala (2209) is also similar to that found in the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* systems. According to Devala, *apavarga* is the absolute negation or non-existence of birth, death, & consequent sufferings. According to the *Nyāyasūtra* (1.1.22) as explained by Vātsyāyana, *apavarga* is the complete cessation of birth & consequent sufferings. (cf. also other *Nyāyasūtras* mentioned above). The dual form '*Janmamaraṇaduḥkhamoḥ*' suggests that

only two words are intended & not all the three independent words. Hence the compound can be interpreted as *Janma ca maraṇam ca-janmamaraṇe tavoh duḥkham*' of pain of birth & death.'

The term '*atyantābhāva*', used by Devala in *sūtra* (2209) also displays the influence of *Nyāyavaiśeṣika* philosophy in which it is a technical term, representing one kind of *abhāva*.

PURPOSE OF SPIRITUAL ACTIVITY :

According to Devala (2442), the purpose of the spiritual activity is the obtainment of liberation or emancipation of four kinds. (1) *sāyujya*-(absorption into the deity), (2) *sālokya* (obtaining the world of the deity), (3) *prakṛtilaya* (absorption into the earth etc.), (4) *mokṣa*-cessation of the repeated births (2443-2447). The *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* (45) refers only to *prakṛtilaya*. The *Sāṅkhyasūtra*⁹⁸ (5/74, 5/76, 5/80, 5/83) also is not at all in favour of admitting *sālokya* & *sāyujya* kinds of liberation, mentioned by Devala.

The liberated person is described as a *Sāṅkhya* & is not only free from qualities, bondage, birth, old age, death & sufferings, but also obtains the Highest Infinite bliss (2241). This is suggestive of *Vedāntic* influence on Devala. The Classical⁹⁹ *Sāṅkhya* believes that liberation is the complete & ultimate destruction of all kinds of sufferings. There is no obtainment of positive happiness or bliss. The explanation of the term '*mokṣa*' (2447) is also significant. It is the negation, absence or non-attainment of repeated births. It is not only cessation of sufferings, but also of future births. This reminds us the *Vaiśeṣika* concept of liberation in the *sūtra*¹⁰⁰ (5/2/10).

UTKRĀNTI :

Devala also expatiates the procedure of *Yogin's* departure from this world, after he has seen the sign of his approaching death (2468-2474). Though the author has explained the *Sāṅkhyayoga* philosophy, he identifies the Ultimate State to be reached by the *Yogin* with the *Brahman*. The *Yogin* obtains *nirvāṇa* (salvation) & reaches the Highest *Brahman*, after

leaving his mortal body. It is described as the Ultimate & Infinite State, designated as *Sāṅkhya*, bereft of connection or contact with birth, death & other calamities. This description is not at all in conformity with the Classical *Sāṅkhya*.

But the above description is similar to that of the *Sāṅkhya* accounts, found in the *Carakasāṃhitā*¹⁰¹ (*Śārīra* 1/155/156, V/21 & 33) & the *Buddhacarita* (XII. 65). Even, while expounding the *Sāṅkhya* doctrine, both the above works describe like Devala, the *Brahman* to be the Ultimate State to be reached by the *Yogin*. It is also described as *nirvāṇa* in the *Caraka*. The exposition of *Sāṅkhya* doctrines in the *Mahābhārata*¹⁰² (Cf. *Śānti*. 275/39) also contains references to the *Brahman*, not admitted by the Classical *Sāṅkhya*.

Thus the exposition of Devala also reflects upon the priority of Devala to the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*. Devala has borrowed the *Sāṅkhya* & *Yoga* accounts from the ancient works of those systems, that admitted even the concept of *Brahman*.

REFERENCES

1. *Ayam tu paramo dharmo yadyogenātmadarśanam!*
■ Yāj. S. (1.8b).
2. *Japayajñāprasiddhyartham vidyām cādhyātmikīm jape!*
■ Yāj. S. (1.106b)
3. *Athātāḥ puruṣaṇiḥśreyasārtham dharmajijñāsā!*
■ V.D.S. (1.1).
4. *Śreyobhyudayasādhano dharmah!*
■ Budha D.S. (I).
5. *Artha eva pradhāna iti kauṭilyah!*
Arthamūlau hi dharmakāmāvitil!
■ Arth. S. (1/7/10-11).
6. *Dharmārthāvucyate śreyaḥ kāmārthau dharma eva ca!*
Artha eveha vā śreyastrivarga iti tu sthitiḥ!
■ Manu. S. (2/224).
7. *Dharmārthakāmān sve kāle yathāśakti na hāpayet!*

■ Yāj. S. (1/115b).

Na pūrvāḥṇa-madhyandināparāḥṇānaphalān kuryāt!
Yathāśaktidharmārthakāmebhyasteṣu ca dharmottaraḥ syāt!

■ G.D.S. (1/9/46).

8. *Ūrdhvaḥhurviraumyeṣa na ca kaścicchruṇoti me!*
dharmādarthaśca kāmāśca sa kimartham na sevyat!

■ Mbh. (Svar. 5/63) (Cr. ed. 18/5/49).

9. *Dvidvidho hi vedokto dharmah!*
Pravṛttilakṣaṇo nivṛttilakṣaṇaścal!
Jagataḥ sthītikāraṇam Prāṇinām
sākṣādabhyudayanīḥśreyasahetuḥ!

■ Śāṅkarabhāṣya on Bh. G. (Intro.)p. 1.

10. Cf. n. 4 above.

11. Cf. n. 2 above.

12. *Atha trividhaduḥkhātyantanivṛttiratyantapurūṣārthaḥ!*
Sāṅ.S. (1.1).

13. (I) *Puruṣārtha eva hetuḥ-Sāṅ.Kā. 31;* (II) *Kṛtsnam puruṣasyārtham-Sāṅ. Kā. 36;* (III) *Saiva ca puruṣārtham prati-Sāṅ. Kā. 63;* (IV) *Puruṣārthahetukamidam-Sāṅ. Kā. 42;* (V) *Puruṣārthajñānamidam-Sāṅ. Kā. 69.* Vācaspati Miśra explains-Bhogāpavargalakṣaṇaḥ puruṣārthaḥ!

14. *Prakāśakriyāsthitiśīlam bhūtendriyātmakam*
bhogāpavargārtham dṛśyam!

■ Y.S. (III/18).

15. *Pañcaviṃśatitattvajñāḥ yatra tatrāśrame vaset!*
jaṭi munḍi śikhī vāpi mucyate nātra saṁśayaḥ!

■ Gauḍapāda's com. on Sāṅ. Kā. Kā I, p. 35.

16. *Prasaṅkhyāne pyakusīdasya sarvathā*
vivekakhyāterdharmameghaḥ samādhiḥ!

■ Y.S. (IV/29).

Vyasa on Y.S. II/15-

.....prasaṅkhyānabalādhogātmikā...

-do- III/2-prasaṅkhyānāgninā
dagdhabhijakalpānaprasavadharmināḥ kariṣyātīti/

17. Śuddhātmatattvavijñānam sāṅkhyamityabhidhīyate/
■ Quoted by Dr. Chakravarti Punimbihari-
Origin & Development of the Sāṅkhya System
of Thought, p. 1
18. Tatkāraṇam sāṅkhyayogādhyagamyam/
■ Śve. Up. 6/13.
19.Vaidikameva tatra jñānam dhyānam ca
sāṅkhyayogaśabdābhyāmabhilāpyate/
■ Bh.S.S. 2/1/3
20. Sāṅkhyā samyagbuddhirvaidikī tayā vartanta iti
sāṅkhyāḥ//
■ Bhāmatī on Bh.S. 2/1/3.
21. Eṣā te'bhihitā sāṅkhye buddhiryoge tvimām śṛṇu/
■ Bh. G.2/39a.

Sāṅkhyayogau pṛthagbālāḥ pravādanti na paṇḍitāḥ/
Bh. G. 5/4a.
Yatsāṅkhyaiḥ prāpyate sthānam tadyogairapi
gamyate/ekam sāṅkhyam ca yogam ca yaḥ paśyati sa
paśyati/
■ Bh. G. 5.5.

Anye sāṅkhyena yogena karmayogena cāpare/
■ Bh. G. 13/24b.

Sāṅkhye kṛtānte proktāni siddhaye sarvakarmaṇām//
■ Bh. G. 18/13b.
22. Jñānayogena sāṅkhyānām karmayogena yoginām/
■ Bh. G.3/3b.
Cf.n. 21 above for Bh. G. 5/5.
23. Six systems of Indian Philosophy, pp. 224-229.
24. Dr. Sovani V.V.—A Critical Study of Sāṅkhya System,
p. 9.
25. Ibid.
26. Pradhānāstitvamekatvamarthavattvamathānyatā/

pārārthyam ca tathānaikyam viyogo yoga eva ca//
Seṣavṛttirakartṛtvam maulikārthāḥ smṛtā daśa//

- Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī (on Sāṅ. Kā. 72, p. 505),
& Sarvopakāriṇī (com. Tattvasamāsa,
Sāṅkhyasaṅgraha), p. 100
27. Maulikyasāṅkhyā hyātmānamātmānam prati pṛthak
pṛthak pradhānam vadanti/Uttare tu sāṅkhyāḥ
sarvātmasvapyekam nityam pradhānamiti pratipannāḥ//
■ Com. on Śaḍdarśanasamuccaya Ka. 36,
p. 145.
28. Pratipurūṣamanyat pradhānam śarīrādyaṛtham karoti/
Teṣāṃ ca mātmyaśarīrapradhānam yadā pravartate,
tadetananyānyapi, tannivṛtau ca teṣāmapi nivṛttiriti
paurikaḥ sāṅkhyācāryo manyate/
■ Yuktidīpika, p. 141.
29. Anekam vyaktam, ekamavyaktam, tathā
pumānāpyekāḥ/
■ Com. on Sāṅ. Kā., 11, p. 70.
30. Mātāpitṛjāḥ ṣaṭkaṣikāḥ tatra mātṛto
lomaloḥitamāṃsāni, pitṛtaḥ snāyavasthimajjānaḥ iti
ṣaṭko gaṇaḥ/
■ Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī on Sāṅ. Kā.
39, pp. 391, 392.
31. Etat ṣaṭkaṣikam śarīram triṇi pitṛta-strīṇi mātṛtaḥ/
asthisnāyumajjānaḥ pitṛtaḥ tvaṇmāṃsarudhirāṇi
mātṛtaḥ'iti
garbhopaniṣacchrutau 'majjāsthisnāyavaḥ śukrādraktāt
tvaṇmāṃsaśoṇitam/Iti ṣaṭkaṣiko nāma deho bhavati
dehinām//
■ Com. Sārābodhinī of Shivanarayan
Shastri on Sāṅ. Kā (39), p. 392.
Lomalohitamāṃsāni jāyante māturasya yat/
pitussnāyavasthimajjānastataḥ ṣaṭkaṣikam vapuḥ//
■ Sāṅkhyakārikā, Introduction
(Sāṅkhyabhūmikā), p. 40.

32. *Mātāpitṛjam sthūlam prāyaśo itaranna tathā/*
■ *Sāñ. S. (3/7).*
33. *Tatraivāśitapītādhyāsādaṣṭau (variant-tābhyām
sahāṣṭau) kośānapare vyācakṣate/*
■ *Yuktidīpikā, p. 120.*
34. *Cf. Tvam jñānamayo vijñānamayo'si...Tvam
vāñmayastvañ cinmayah/Tvamānandamayastvam
brahmamayah-*
■ *Gaṇeśātharvaśiṛṣam.*
35. *Sāmānyakaraṇavṛttiḥ prāñādyā vāyavaḥ pañca/—Sāñ.
Kā. 29.*
36. *Śarīrāntaḥsañcārī vāyuh prāñah/Sa caikopyupād-
hibhedāt prāñāpānādi sañjñām labhate/*
■ *Tarkasaṅgraha, p. 38.*
37. *Hṛdi prāṇo gude'pānah samāno nābhisañsthitah/
Udānah kañthadeśasthah vyānah sarvaśarīragah//*
■ *(Tarkasaṅgraha, footnote p. 38),*
Tarkabhāṣā-Notes p. 195, Com. of
Bhāvagaṇeśa on Tattvasamāsa Sū. 12).
38. *Mm. Kane, P.V.-H.D.S., Vol. V, Pt. II, pp.
1434-1435.*
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Dr. Chakravarti Punimbihari-Origin & Development
of the Sāñkhya System of Thought-p. 14.*
42. *Ibid, p. 103.*
43. *Dr. Senagupta Anima-The Evolution of the Sāñkhya
School of Thought, p. 143.*
44. *Prof. Dasagupta Surendranath-A Hist. of Indian
Philosophy, Vol. I, p. 214.*
45. *Prthivī ca prthivīmātrā cāpaścāpomātrā ca tejaśca
tejomātrā ca vāyusca vāyumātrā cākāśaścākāśamātrā
ca/Praśna Up. (4/8).*

46. *Pañcatanmātrā bhūtaśabdenocyante-Maitrāyaṇi Up.
(3/2).*
47. *Kriyātantrāṇi pañcātha mātrātantrāṇi pañca ca/
bhūtatantrāṇi pañceti triṁsad dve ca bhūdaḥ imāḥ//*
■ *Ahīrbudhnya Sañhitā (XII-23), p. 109.*
48. *Mbh. Anu. 14/202 (Cr. ed. 13/App. 5/19), Mbh. Anu.
96 (Cr.ed. 13/App. 10/482), Mbh. Anu. 145 (Cr. ed.
13/App. 15/4102-4103); Mbh. Śānti. 47 (Cr. ed.
12/App.6/2), Mbh. (Cr. ed. 12/App. 26/30-50).*
49. *Mātrāsparśastu kaunteya śitoṣṇasukhaduḥkhadāḥ/*
■ *Bh. G. II/14a.*
50. *Bhūmirāpo'nalo vāyuh kham mano buddhireva ca/*
■ *Bh. G. (VII/4).*
*Bhūmiriti prthivītanmātramucyate, na sthūlā/
'Bhinnā prakṛtiṣṭadheti vacanāt/
Tathā abādayo'pi tanmātrāṇyevocyantē//*
■ *Com. of Śāñkarācārya on Bh. G. (VII/4).*
51. *Khādīni buddhiravyaktamahanākārastathāṣṭamah/
bhūtaprakṛtiruddiṣṭā vikārāścaiva ṣoḍaśa//*
■ *Caraka (Śārīra- 1/62)*
*Tatra tu prakṛtirnāma viddhi prakṛtikovidā/
pañca bhūtānyahanākāram buddhiravyaktameva ca//*
■ *Buddha- carita (XII-18).*
52. *Añvyo mātrā vināśīnyo daśārdhānām tu yāḥ smṛtāḥ/
tābhiḥ sārddhamidam sarvam sambhavatyanupūrvaśah/*
■ *Manu S.1/27.*
53. *Sthūlasvariūpasūkṣmānvayārthavatvasaṇyamād
bhūtajayah//*
■ *Y.S. (3/43).*
*Kimeṣām sūkṣasvarūpam Tanmātram
bhūtakāraṇam.....*
ityevam sarvatanmātrāṇyetattṛṭiyam/
■ *Vyāsa com. on Y.S.. 3/43.*

54. *Buddherutpattiravyaktātātato'haṅkārasambhavaḥ/tanmātrādīnyahaṅkāradekottaraguṇāni ca*!
 ■ Yāj. S. 3/179.
Tanmātrānyaviśeṣāḥ.....
 ■ Sāñ. Kā. (38).
55. *Tathā kvacinmahatastanmātrasargamupadiśanti, kvacidahaṅkārat*!
 ■ Bh.S.S. 2/2/10.
56. Kale, M.R.-A *Higher Sanskrit Grammar*, Appendix pp. 105- 106.
57. *Yogaścittavṛttinirodhaḥ-*
 ■ Y.S. (1/2).
58. *Yogaḥ samādhiḥ*
 ■ Vyāsa's com. on Y.S. 1/1.
59. *Tasmin sati śvāsaprasvāsayorgativicchedaḥ prāṇāyāmaḥ*!
 ■ Y.S. 2/49.
60. *Bāhyābhyantarastambhavṛttirdeśakālasaṅkhyābhiḥ paridṛṣṭo dīrghasūkṣmaḥ*!
 ■ Y.S.2/50.
61. *Pracchardanaividhāraṇābhyām vā prāṇasya*!
 ■ Y.S. (1/34).
62. *Nirodhaśchardividhāraṇābhyām*
 ■ Sāñ. S. (3/33).
63. *Prāṇāyāma ivāmbhobhiḥ sarasām kṛtapūrakaiḥ abhyasyatē'nudivasam recakākumbhakādibhiḥ*!
 ■ Vsn. P.V/10/15.
Pūrakāḥ kumbhakaścaiva recakastadanantaram/ prāṇāyāmastridhā jñeyaḥ kaniyomadhyamotamaḥ!etc.
 ■ Cf. Bṛhadyogiyājñavalkya S. (VIII/9-10 & 19-21).
64. Cf. note 60 above.

65. *Evam mṛdurevam madhya evam tīvro iti saṅkhyāparidṛṣṭaḥ*!
 ■ Vyāsa's com. on Y.S. 2/50.
66. Mm. Kane, P.V.-H.D.S., Vol. V, Pt. II, p. 1439, n. 2363.
67. *Svaviśayāsamprayoge cittasvarūpānukāra ivedriyāṇām pratyāhāraḥ*!
 ■ Y.S. 2/54.
68. *Aṇuparimāṇam tatkṛtiśruteḥ*!
 ■ Sāñ. S. 3/14.
69. *Vṛttirevāsyā* *vibhunaścittasya*
saṅkocavikāśinītyācāryāḥ!
 ■ Com. of Vyāsa on Y.S. 4/10.
70. *Taccāṇuparimāṇam*
 ■ Tarkabhāṣā, p. 75.
Tacca pratyātmanīyatatvādanantam paramāṇurūpam nityam ca
 ■ Tarkasaṅgraha, p. 52.
71. *Tarkabhāṣā*-ed. by Gajendragadakar A.B. & Kar-markar, R.D.
 ■ notes p. 200.
72. *Tatra pratyayaikatānatā dhyānam*!
 ■ Y.S. (3.2).
Rāgopahatīrdhyānam!
 ■ Sāñ. S. (3/30).
Dhyānam nirviśayam manāḥ!
 ■ Sāñ. S. (6.25).
73. *Tattvamasi*
 ■ Chāndogya Up. 6/8.
Tadbuddhayastadātmānastamniṣṭhāstatparāyaṇāḥ!
 ■ Bh. G. 5/17.
 Cf. Com. of Śaṅkarācārya on Bh. G. 5/17 & 2/16.
Tad iti sarvanāma sarvam ca brahma tasya nāma tad!
 ■ Com. of Śaṅkarācārya on Bh. G. 2/16.

74. *Sthirasukhamāsanam!*
■ Y.S. (2/46), Sān.S. (3.34).
Sthirasukhamāsanamiti na niyamah!
■ Sān. S. (6/24).
75. *Paryāṅkabandhasthirapūrvakāyam....!*
■ Kumārasambhava (3/45).
.....*Paryakabandham nibiḍam bibheda!*
■ Kumārasambhava (3/59).
76. *Bhadrāsanopaviṣṭasya svastivācyā dvijāḥ śubhāḥ!*
■ Yāj. S. (1/278b)
Carmaṇyānaḍuḥe rakte sthāpyam bhadrāsanam tathā!
■ Yāj. S. (1/280b).
77. *Na ca padmāsanād yogo na nāsāgranirīkṣaṇāt!*
■ Dakṣa S. (Ānandā ed. VIII/5)
78. *Ūrūstho-ttānacaraṇaḥ savye nyastetaram karam!*
Uttānam kiñcidunnāmya mukhum viṣṭabhya corasā!
■ Yāj. S. (3/198).
79. *Brahmacaryam satyavacanam savaneṣūdako-*
pasparśanamārdravastratādhaṣṭāyitānāśaka iti
tapāṁsi!
■ G.D.S. (III/1/15).
Ahiṁsā satyamastyaiṇyam savaneṣūdakopasparśanam
guruśuśrūṣā
brahmacaryamadhaṣṭāyanamekavastratā'nāśaka iti
tapāṁsi!
■ B.D.S. (III/10/14).
80. *Vyādhistiyānasamśayapramādālasāvratibhrāntidarśanā-*
labdhabhūmikātvānavasthitatvāni cittavikṣepāste'
ntarāyāḥ!
■ Y.S. 1/30.
Tataḥ prātibhaśrāvanavedanādanādarśāsvādavārtā
jāyante!
■ Y.S. 3/35.

- Te samādhāvupasargā vyutthāne siddhayaḥ*
■ Y.S. 3/36.
81. *Tato' ṇimādiḥprādurbhāvaḥ kāyasampattaddhar-*
mānabhighātaśca!
■ Y.S. (3/44).
82. Kolhatkar, K.K.-*Pātañjala Yogasūtra*, p. 441 on Y.S. 3/45.
83. *Vaṣitvam bhūtabhautikeṣu vaṣibhavatyavaśyaścānyeṣām!*
Īṣitvam teṣām prabhavāpyayavyūhānāmīṣṭe!
Yatra kāmāvasāyitvam satyasaṅkalpatā yathā
saṅkalpastathā bhūtaprakṛtīnāmavasthānam!
■ Vyāsa's com. on Y.S. 3/44.
84. *Sopakramam nirupakramam ca karma,*
tatsaṁyamādaparāntajñānamariṣṭebhyo vā!
■ Y.S. (3/21).
85. *Nīharadhūmārkānalānilānām khadyotavidyutsphaṭika-*
śaṣṇām!
etāni rūpāṇi puraḥsarāṇi brahmaṇyabhiviyaktikarāṇi yogel!
■ Sve. Up. (2/11).
86. Mm. Kane, P.V.-H.D.S., Vol. IV, p. 181.
87. *Trividham narakasyedam dvāram nāśanamātmanah!*
kāmaḥ krodhastathā lobhastasmādetattrayam tyajet!
■ Bh. G. (16/20).
88. *Vitarkā hiṁsādayaḥ....lobhakrodhamohapūrvakāḥ...*
■ Y.S. (2.34).
89. *Paradravyeṣvabhidyānam manasāniṣṭacintanam!*
Vitathābhiniveśaśca trividham karma mānasam!
■ Manu. S. (XII. 5).
90. *Pāruṣyamanṛtam caiva paśūṇyam cāpi sarvaśaḥ!*
asaṁbaddhapralāpaśca vāṇmayam syāccaturvidham!
■ Manu. S. (XII. 6).
91. *Adattānāmupādānam hiṁsā caivā-vidhānataḥ!*
paradāropasevā ca śārīram trividham smṛtam!
■ Manu. S. (XII/7).

92. *Sarvābhakṣyabhakṣaṇamabhojyabhojanamapeyapān-
āgamyāgamanamayājyayājanamasatpratigrahaṇam
paradārābhigamanam dravyāpaharaṇam prāṇihimsā
ceti śārīrāṇi/Pāruṣyamanṛtam vivādaḥ śrutivikrayaśceti
vācīkāṇi/Paropatāpanam parābhidrohaḥ krodho lobho
moho'haṅkāraśceti mānasāṇi/Tadetānyaṣṭāda-
śanaireyāṇi karmāṇi/*
■ Harīta quot. in P.M. Vol. II, Pt. II, pp. 212-213.
93. *Jñānena cāpavargo viparyayādiṣyate bandhaḥ/*
■ Sāñ. Kā (44b)
94. *Trividho bandhaḥ—Tattvasamāsa sūtra, 21.
Bandho Viparyayāt*
■ Sāñ.S. (3/24).
95. *Prākṛtena ca bandhena tathā vaikārikena caldākṣiṇena
tṛīyena baddho nānyena mucyate/*
■ Com. of Gauḍapāda on Sāñ. Kā. 44.
96. *Dharmādharmajñānājñānavairāgyāvairāgyāiśvaryaṇai
śvaryaṇi aṣṭabhāvāḥ pūrvamuktāḥ, tatra jñānam
varjayitvā anyāṇi sapta prakṛtirūpāṇi bandhahetavaḥ/*
■ Sārabodhini on Sāñ. Kā 63.
97. *Tadatyantavimokṣo'pavargaḥ*
■ Nyā.S. 1/1/22.
- Tena duḥkkena janmanā atyantam vimuktirapavargaḥ*
■ Vātsyāyana's com. on Nyā.S. 1/1/22.
- Duḥkhajanmapravṛttidoṣamithyājñānānamuttarottar-
āpāye tadanantarāpāyādapavargaḥ*
■ Nyā. S. 1/1/2.
- Mokṣo'pavargaḥ/Sa caikaviṃśatiprabhedabhinnasya
duḥkhasyātyantīki nivṛttiḥ/*
■ Tarkabhāṣā, p. 96.
-*Duḥkhāpavargāstu prameyam/*
■ Nyā. S. 1/1/9.

Jñānena cāpavargo....

■ Sāñ. Kā. 44.

.....*Bhogāpavargārtham dṛśyam....*

■ Y.S. III/18.

....*Kaivalyārtham pravṛtteścal*

■ Sāñ. Kā. 17

.....*Kaivalyārtham tathā pradhānasya/*

■ Sāñ. Kā. 21.

■*Ubhayam kaivalyamāpnoti/*

■ Sāñ. Kā. 68.

The fourth pāda of Y.S. is called kaivalyapāda.

Tadabhāvāt.....taddṛśeḥ kaivalyam/

■ Y.S. III/25.

Tadvairāgyādapi....kaivalyam/—Y.S.III/49.

Sattvapuruṣayoḥ śuddhisāmye kaivalyam/

■ Y.S. III/49.

....*Tadā vivekanimnam kaivalyaprāgbhāram cittam/—*

■ Y.S. IV/26.

*Puruṣārthaśūnyānām....kaivalyam svarūpapraṭiṣṭhā vā
citiśaktiḥ*

■ Y.S.IV/34.

98. *Nānandābhivyaktirmuktirnirdharmakatvāt/*

■ Sāñ.S. (5/74).

Na viśeṣagatirniṣkriyasya/

■ Sāñ.S. (5/76).

Saṁyogāśca viyogāntā iti na deśādilābho'pi/

■ Sāñ. S. (5/80).

Nendradīpadayogo'pi tadvat/

■ Sāñ. S.(5/83).

99. *Duḥkhatrayābhighātāt....*

■ Sāñ. Kā.1

Nānandābhivvyaktirmukrtirnirdharmatvāt/

■ *Sāñ.S. (5/74).*

100. *Tadabhāve saṁyogābhāvo'.....prādurbhāvaḥ sa mokṣaḥ/*

■ *Vaiśeṣikasūtra (5/2/20).*

101. *Ataḥ param brahmabhūto bhūtātmā nopalabhyate/*
niṣṭaḥ sarvabhāvebhyaścīhnam yasya na
vidyate//Gatirbrahavidām brahma taccākṣarama-
lakṣaṇam/

Jñānam brahavidām cātra nājnastajjñātumarhati//

■ *Caraka (Śārīra II/155-156).*

Nivṛttirapavargastatparam praśāntam tadakṣaram tad
brahma sa mokṣaḥ/

■ *Caraka (Śārīra VI/21).*

Vipāpam vijaraḥ śāntam paramakṣaramav-
yayam/āmṛtam brahmanirvāṇam paryāyāḥ śāntirucyate//

■ *Caraka (Śārīra VI/33).*

Etat tat paramam brahma niriliṅgam dhruva-
makṣaram/

Yanmokṣa iti tattvajñāḥ kathayanti maṇiṣiṇaḥ//

■ *Buddhacarita (XII/65).*

102. e.g. Cf. *Puṇyapāpakṣayārtham hi sāṅkhyajñānam*
vidhīyate/

tatkṣaye hyasya paśyanti brahmabhāve parām gatim//

■ *Mbh. Śānti. 275/39. (Cr. ed. 12/267/38).*

(B) DEVALA'S INDEBTEDNESS TO THE WORKS ON SĀṆKHYA & YOGA:

INTRODUCTORY :

The various tenets of *Sāṅkhya & Yoga* systems have been dealt with by Devala. Even Śaṅkarācārya, (*Bh. S.1/4/28*) explicitly mentions¹ that the *Dharmasūtrakāras* like Devala etc. accepted the *pradhānakāraṇavāda* (doctrine of *prakṛti* being the cause of the world) in their treatises. Several distinctive philosophical features, as found in the exposition of *Sāṅkhya & Yoga* by Devala, have been dealt with in the previous section. It is now necessary to study how far Devala is indebted to the extant *Sāṅkhya & Yoga* works. It is the most pertinent question, whether Devala has based his doctrines upon the extant *Sāṅkhya & Yoga* works or he is indebted to ancient works, prior to extant ones.

POINTS OF AGREEMENT :

Many ancient works on *Sāṅkhya & Yoga* philosophy have been completely lost. The *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, the *Sāṅkhyasūtra* & the *Tattvasamāsa* are the most important extant *sāṅkhya* works, that contain several points of agreement both verbal & doctrinal-with the *sūtras* of Devala. Such points of parity between Devala & the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, the *Sāṅkhyasūtra* & the *Tattvasamāsa sūtra* are noted² here for the comparative study.

TABLE NO.12

Devala	Sāṅkhyakārikā	Sāṅkhyasūtra	Tattvasamāsa
1. Ekā Mūlaprakṛtiḥ - 2211 Sarvapūrvikā prakṛtiḥ - 2258	Mūlaprakṛtiravikṛtiḥ - 3a	—	—
2. Sapta prakṛtivyaktayaḥ - 2212 Mahadahāṅkārau - 2213 Pañcatanmātrāṇi - 2214	Mahadādyāḥ prakṛtivyaktayaḥ Septa - 3b —	— — —	— — —
3. Śoḍaśa vikārāḥ - 2215	Śoḍaśakastu vikārāḥ - 3c	—	Śoḍaśa vikārāḥ - 2
4. Trayodaśa Karaṇāni - 2218	Karaṇam trayodaśavidham-32	Karaṇam trayodaśavidham-2/38	—
5. Teṣāṃ Trīṇyantaḥkaraṇāni- 2219	Antaḥkaraṇam trividham-33	—	—
6. Daśa bahiṣkaraṇāni-2220	Daśadhā bāhyam - 33	—	—
7. Pañca Vāyuvīśeṣāḥ - 2222	..... Vāyavaḥ Pañca - 29	..... Vāyavaḥ Pañca - 2/31	Pañca Vāyavaḥ-12
8. Trayo guṇāḥ - 2223	..... guṇāḥ /12-13	—	Trayaiguṇyam - 4
9. Trīṇi pramāṇāni - 2227	Trividham pramāṇam - 4	—	Trividham pramāṇam - 23
10. Trividham duḥkham-2228	Duḥkhatrayābhigrahāt....1	.... Trividham pramāṇam-1/87	Trividham duḥkham-24
11. Caturvidhaḥ pratyayava(sa) rgaḥ - 2229	Bṛa pratyayasargo Viparyaya- śaktituṣṭisiddhyākyah-46	Atha Trividhaduḥkha....1/1	—
12. Tathā dvividhaḥ sargaḥ-2230	.... Dvividhaḥ pravartate sargaḥ-52	—	—

Contd..

Devala	Sāṅkhyakārikā	Sāṅkhyasūtra	Tattvasamāsa
13. Tathā viparyayaḥ pañcavidhaḥ-2231	.... Pañca viparyayabhedāḥ-47	Viparyayabhedāḥ pañca-3/37	—
14. Aśaktiraśāvimśatividhā-2232	...Aśaktiśca... aśāvimśatibhedā-47	Aśaktiraśāvimśatidhā tu-3/38	Aśāvimśatividhā'saktiḥ-15
15. Tuṣṭirnavavidhā-2233	Tuṣṭirnavadhā-47	Tuṣṭirnavadhā-3/39 Navadhā tuṣṭiḥ-3/43	Navadhā tuṣṭiḥ-16
16. Siddhirāśāvidhā-2234	....Aśadhā siddhiḥ-47	Siddhirāśadhā-3/40	Aśadhā siddhiḥ-17
17. Iti pratyayabhedāḥ pañcāsat- 2235	.... tasya ca bhedaṣtu pañcāsat-46	—	—
18. Bahavaḥ pumāṁsaḥ-2236	Puruṣa-bahutvam siddham-18	JanmādivyavasthātāḥPuruṣa- bahutvam-1/149; Puruṣaba- hutvam vyavasthātāḥ-6/45	—
19. Cakṣuḥśrotagrahāṇajihvātraco buddhindriyāni-2242	Buddhindriyāṇi Cakṣuḥ-śrot- raghrāṇaparasanatvagākhāni-26	—	—
20. Vākpañipāda-pāyūpasthāḥ Karmendriyāni-2244	Vākpañipādapāyūpasthāḥ Karmendriyāṇyānuḥ-26	—	—
21. Rūpāśabdagandharasparśas- teṣāmarthāḥ-2243	Śabdādīṣu pañcānām....28 Pañcaviśeṣaviśeṣaviśayāni...34	—	—
22. Bhāṣaṇam Kriyā gamanam utsarga ānanda eṣāṃ Karmāni-2245	Vacanādānaviharaṇotsargānaṃ dāśca pañcānām-28	—	—

Contd..

	Devala	Sāṅkhyakārikā	Sāṅkhyasūtra	Tattvasamāsa
23.	Vayavāgnyaśāstraśrībhūta bhūtaśāstra-2246	Tanmātrānyaviseśārebhya bhūtāni pañca pañcabhyaḥ- 38	—	—
24.	Adhyavasāyalaṅkāra mahān...2251	Adhyavasāyo buddhiḥ...23	Adhyavasāyo buddhiḥ-2/13	—
25.	Abhimānalaṅkāraḥ... 2252	Abhimāno 'haṅkāraḥ...24	Abhimāno 'haṅkāraḥ-2/16	—
26.	Sattāmātralaṅkāraṇi tanmātrāṇi-2253	Tanmātrānyaviśeṣāḥ...38	—	—
27.	Saṅkalpalakṣaṇam Manah-2256	Ubhayātmakamatra Manah Saṅkalpakam...27	—	—
28.	Prakṛtermahānūpadyate/Maha to 'haṅkāraḥ/ Ahaṅkāraḥ tan- mātrānīndriyāni ca/Tanmātre- bhyaḥ Viśeṣa ityutpattikr- amaḥ-2259 to 2262	Prakṛtermahānūpadyate 'haṅkāra- astasmād gāṇāśca śoḍaśakah/ Tasmādapī śoḍaśakāt pañca- bhyaḥ pañca bhūtāni-22	Prakṛtermahān Mahato' haṅkāro 'haṅkāraḥ pañcatanmā- trānyubhayamīndriyam tanmā- trebhyaḥ śtūlabhūtāni puruṣa iti pañcaviṃśatirgāṇaḥ-1/61	—
29.	Tatra guṇasāmyalakṣaṇama- vyaktam...2250	—	Sattvarajastamasām sāmyāvasthā prakṛtiḥ-1/61	—
30.	Iti da'samūlikārthāḥ-2237	—	—	Da'sa mūlikārthāḥ-18
31.	Trividho bandhaḥ-2224	—	—	Trividho bandhaḥ-21

REMARKS :

The comparative account about the similarity between *Devalasūtras* & the above three extant *sāṅkhyā* works, would suggest at least the following two facts, (1) Devala may be indebted to the above extant *sāṅkhyā* works or (2) Devala & all the above three *sāṅkhyā* works may be indebted to some other ancient & prior but lost *sāṅkhyā* works, which may be the source of all of them & thus the occurrence of identical matter can be explicable.

Of the above two facts, the first one is not acceptable, as (1) it has been previously emphasized that though there are several points of agreement between Devala & the extant *Sāṅkhyā* works, there are various points of disagreement also between the two, which definitely suggest that the later works are not the basis of *Devala-sūtras*. Moreover, Devala also like the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, explicitly mentions his indebtedness to the ancient inscrutable & voluminous *sāṅkhyāyoga* treatises (*Tantras*), (2210).

OPINION OF PANDITA UDAYAVIRA SHASTRI :

Pandita Udayavira Shastri³ has given great importance to some of the passages of Devala to solve the chronological problems, regarding the extant *sāṅkhyā* works. He has pointed out that some of the *sūtras* of Devala are identical with those of the *Tattvasamāsa* & the *Sāṅkhyasūtra*, while there are some other *sūtras* of Devala, which are very close to the *Sāṅkhyasūtra* & the *Tattvasamāsa* though the words are slightly different.

On the basis of such resemblances, he advocates that Devala had before him the extant *Sāṅkhyasūtra* work & is indebted to it. He is not ready to accept the view that the *Sāṅkhyasūtra* work itself has taken those *sūtras* from the work of Devala. He is also not prepared to believe that Devala is indebted to some other ancient lost *sāṅkhyā* works.

Devala explicitly mentions his indebtedness to the *Tantra* work of *sāṅkhyā* and this work, Pandit Udayavira Shastri maintains, is the *Śaṣṭitantra* only. This *Śaṣṭitantra* is the extant *Sāṅkhyasūtra*, work in six *adhyāyas*. This is the most peculiar view of the above author, explained by him in his book.

The *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, which is generally accepted to be the most ancient extant *sāṅkhya*-work, is advocated to be a work, later than the extant *Sāṅkhyasūtra* & hence he is not ready to accept the view of Devala's indebtedness to the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, because he places Devala in a period much earlier than that of *Īśvarakṛṣṇa*.

He also argues that there is no passage of Devala, that has any kind of similarity with the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, while such relation of resemblance of the *Sāṅkhyasūtra* & the *Tattvasamāsa* is too close to the *sūtras* of Devala.

HIS CONCLUSION :

To sum up, he tries to prove that Devala is earlier to the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* & is not indebted to it in any way & that Devala is very much indebted to the *Sāṅkhyasūtra* & *Tattvasamāsa*, which he had before him, while writing the said passages. But the *Sāṅkhyasūtra* alone is the earliest extant *sāṅkhya* work to which Devala is heavily indebted.

CRITICISM :

- (1) The above view of the author mainly rests upon the presumption of the priority of the *Sāṅkhyasūtra* to the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*. This view is not generally accepted by the scholars. Most of the Western & Indian scholars, maintain the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* to be the earliest extant *Sāṅkhya* work. Prof. Dasagupta⁴ believes the *Sāṅkhyasūtras* to be "probably written sometimes after 14th century". Prof. V.V. Sovanis remarks that the *Tattvasamāsa* is a work "older than 7th century A.D."
- (2) The argument from the parity is not a solid proof for proving the priority or posterity of any work. The similarity may be due to some common source. Similarly, there are also some distinct conflicting views, which may on the same standpoint, suggest that the other work is not the basis of it.
- (3) The view of Pandit Udayavira Shastri is that there

is no passage of Devala, which can be shown to have any kind of resemblance with the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* is quite baseless. The comparative statement about Devala & the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, mentioned previously (Table No. 12) can disprove this view of his.

- (4) It is improper to deny any independent earlier source, being the basis of the *sūtras* of Devala, the *Sāṅkhyasūtras* & the *Tattvasamāsasūtras*, because there is no proof to prove that Devala alone is basis of the *Sāṅkhyasūtra* & the *Tattvasamāsa* or the otherwise. Some ancient lost work, being the basis of all of them is quite presumable. Devala has admitted his indebtedness to the *Tantras* of *Sāṅkhya-Yoga* (2210).
- (5) It was explained in the previous part, how some of the theories & doctrines of exposition of Devala, have no parallel in the extant works, while some tenets are quite distinct & conflicting with the extant *Sāṅkhya* works. Hence Devala cannot be said to be indebted to the extant *Sāṅkhya* works.

DEVALA'S INDEBTEDNESS :

In the last chapter, the author himself admits his indebtedness to the ancient, profound & extensive *Sāṅkhyayoga Tantras* for his exposition of *Sāṅkhya* & *Yoga*. This statement of Devala (2210) is very important from various points of view.

IMPLICATIONS :

It follows from the statement of Devala that-

- (1) Devala had before him many (not one, or two, but plural indicates many) *Tantras*, treating both *Sāṅkhya* & *Yoga* philosophy. They were written by ancient scholars & sages. They were voluminous, inscrutable & based upon logic & convention. They were probably containing treatment of both *Sāṅkhya* & *Yoga*, without any distinct discrimination. Devala also followed the same pattern. The *Tantras* were very

extensive, hence Devala has abridged & briefly mentioned them in his treatise.

- (2) None of the extant *Sāṅkhya* works (viz. the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, the *Sāṅkhyasūtra* & the *Tattvasamāsa*) have been traditionally accepted to be the *Tantra* works of *Sāṅkhya*. On the other hand, there are some evidences⁶ to believe that there were voluminous & instrutable treatises on *Sāṅkhyayoga* (as Devala, *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, *Śaṅkarācārya* etc. mention), which were called *Tantras*. It can also be maintained that even Devala, *Īśvarakṛṣṇa* & *Śaṅkarācārya* etc. had access to such ancient works.
- (3) Devala does not intend to refer to the extant *Sāṅkhya* works. These cannot be described to be '*Viśālāni gambhīrāṇi tantrāṇi*' (R.T. Sr. 2210).

The exposition of *Yoga* is also not in accordance with the extant *Yogasūtra*. There is no *sūtra* of Devala that is identical with that of the *Yogasūtra*. The definitions & explanations of various *yogic* terms are not in conformity with the extant *Yogasūtra*. This was explained elaborately in the previous section.

CONCLUSION :

Devala is not all indebted to the extant works on *Sāṅkhya* & *Yoga*. His exposition is based upon the ancient, voluminous & instrutable treatises (known as *Tantras*) of *Sāṅkhya-yoga* (as he himself has explicitly admitted) (2210).

REFERENCES

1. *Sa ca devalādibhiḥ kaiściddharmasūtrakāraiḥ svagrantheṣvāśritāḥ tena tatpratiṣedhe yatno'tiva kṛto nāṇvādikāraṇa-vādapraṭiṣedhe*!
■ Bh.S.S. (1/4/28).
2. Cf. Table No. 12.

3. Cf. *Sāṅkhya Darśanakā Itihāsa*, p. 209.
4. *A Hist. of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 222.
5. *The Critical Study of Sāṅkhya System*, p. 9.
6. I. *Bṛhaccaivamidam śāstramityāhurviduṣo janāḥ*

■ Mbh. Śānti. 307/46 (Cr. ed 12/295/44)

Sāṅkhyam viśālam paramam purāṇam

■ Mbh. Śānti/301/114 (Cr. ed. 12/290/109)

Sāṅkhyam ca yogam ca sanātane dvel

■ Mbh. Śānti. 349/73 (Cr. ed. 12/337/68)

II. *Śaṣṭitantrāṇyathaikaikamesām nānāvidham muneḥ*

■ Ahirbudhnya Saṁ. XII/30.

Viṣṇusaṅkalparūpam ca mahadyogānuśāsanam

■ Ahirbudhnya Saṁ. XII/31-38.

III. *Etatpavitramagryam munirāsuraye'nukampayā pradadau*

āsurirapi pañcaśikhāya tena ca bahudhā kṛtam tantram/
Śīśyaparamparayā"gatamiśvarakṛṣṇena caitadāryābhiḥ/
Saṅkṣiptamāryamatinā samyag vijñāya
siddhāntam/Saptatyām kila ye'rthāste'rthāḥ kṛtsnasya
śaṣṭitantrasyalākhyāyikā virahitāḥ paravādavivarjītāścāpi!

■ Sān. Kā. 70-72.

IV. *Tantrasya ca bṛhanmūterdarpaṇasaṅkrāntamiva bimbam*

■ Sān. Kā. Last additional verse read by Māthara.

V. *Pañcaśikhena muninā bahudhā kṛtam tantram-śaṣṭitantrākhyam śaṣṭikhaṇḍam kṛtamiti/Tatraiva hi śaṣṭīrarthāḥ vyākhyātāḥ*

■ Jayamaṅgalā on Sān. Kā 70.

VI. *Tattvam jñāsamānāya viprāyāsurye muniḥ/*
Yaduvāca mahattantram duḥkhatraya-nivṛttaye/
na tasyādhigamaḥ śakyah kartum varṣaśatairapi!

■ Yuktīdīpikā, p. 1.

VII. *Tathā cōktam/Ādividvānnirmānacittamadhiṣṭhāya
Kāruṇyād bhagavān paramarṣirāsuraye jijñāsamānāya
tantram provācal*

■ Vyāsa's com. on Y.S. 1/25.

VIII. *Smṛtiśca tantrākhyā paramarṣipraṇītā
śiṣṭaparigṛhītā*

■ Bh.S.S. (III/1/1).

....*Mahājanuparigṛhītāni mahānti sāṅkhyāditantrāṇi
samyagdarśanāpadeśenc pravṛttānyupalabhya.....*

■ Bh.S.S. (III/2/1).

(C) DEVALA-A BRAHMAVĀDĪ SĀṆKHYA :

DEVALA-A SĀṆKHYA :

From the foregoing discussion, it would be clear that Devala was an expounder of *Sāṅkhya & Yoga* philosophy. In the chapter II-II (of Vol. I, sect. I) of the first volume, several references from the *Mahābhārata* & other works have been mentioned, which corroborate the above view of Devala, being the propounder of *Sāṅkhya* doctrine. Thus both external & internal evidences would prove the fact that Devala was a thinker of *Sāṅkhya* philosophy.

DEVALA-A BRAHMAVĀDĪ SĀṆKHYA :

But it was also previously clarified that Devala's exposition does not completely agree with the Classical & orthodox *Sāṅkhya* tenets. There are, no doubt, points of parity or resemblance between them. But there are also numerous other facts, that do not corroborate with the extant works of Classical *Sāṅkhya* system. This point was also emphasized in the previous discussions. The Classical *Sāṅkhya*, maintains dualism, with the admittance of two fundamental principles of *prakṛti* & *puruṣa*; while Devala admits the third principle, namely the *Brahman* also (2473). This is the fundamental difference between Devala & the Classical *Sāṅkhya* view.

The *Sāṅkhya* philosophy as expounded in the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, represents the extreme form of dualism. But the pre-*kārikā-sāṅkhya* was different. The *Sāṅkhya* accounts, found in the *Mahābhārata*, *Caraka*, *Buddhacarita* etc., do not contribute to the extreme dualistic position of *Sāṅkhya*. But they admit¹ in their exposition the third principle of *Brahman*. Thus the pre-*kārikā-sāṅkhya* as expounded in the above works, was somewhat theistic & non-dualistic & the same kind of philosophical doctrine is propounded by the author in the present text.

Moreover, it seems from the statement of Devala (2204-2210) that even the two systems, *Sāṅkhya & Yoga*, were also not completely separate from each other & were expounded

as two paths, leading to the identical goal, in those ancient treatises called *Tantras*.

To sum up, like the pre-kārika early *Sāṅkhya* philosophy, Devala was also a *Sāṅkhya* thinker, believing in the doctrine of *Brahman*. In other words, Devala was a *Brahmavādī-Sāṅkhya*.

DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE PHILOSOPHY OF DEVALA & ŚAṆKARĀCĀRYA :

Śaṅkarācārya has explicitly referred to Devala in the commentary on *Brahmasūtras*² (1/4/28). He might have had access to the lost text of Devala, that expounded the *Sāṅkhya* doctrine, but the statement of Śaṅkarācārya seems to indicate his dissent towards the treatment of *Sāṅkhya* by Devala. He was genuinely a *Dharmasūtrakāra* & hence his main aim was to propound *Dharma*. Moreover, he was also a *śiṣṭa*, the follower of Vedic tradition & yet he followed the realistic *Sāṅkhya* doctrine, that propounded the *prakṛti* to be the cause of the world. This attitude of Devala is quite improper. The *Sāṅkhya* philosophy was the *pradhānamalla* for Śaṅkarācārya & even the followers of Vedic tradition like Devala etc. should follow it, is quite improper.

But from the point of belief in the doctrine of *Brahman*, Devala is quite close to Śaṅkarācārya. Moreover, Śaṅkarācārya,³ himself admits that the *sāṅkhya* philosophy is quite close to the Vedic *darśana* (which he was expounding) & was, therefore, even admitted by some *śiṣṭas* like Devala etc. But yet there is a fundamental difference between Śaṅkarācārya & the Classical *sāṅkhya*. The Classical *sāṅkhya* philosophy is dualistic. It admits two separate principles namely *prakṛti* & *puruṣa*. The pre-kārikā *sāṅkhya*, (expounded in *Mahābhārata*, *Caraka*, *Buddhacarita* etc.) maintains the separate existence of two principles of *prakṛti* & *puruṣa*, though it admits the doctrine of *Brahman*. While Śaṅkarācārya admits only one principle namely *Brahman* from the transcendental point of view. The *Brahman* is the only principle from which the creation, maintenance & destruction of the entire world follows. The *Brahman* is not only the efficient but also material cause of

the world⁴. Here Devala differs from Śaṅkarācārya. Though admitting the doctrine of *Brahman*, he does not maintain it to be the source or material cause of the world. *Prakṛti* is admitted to be the material cause of the world. Śaṅkarācārya has intentionally rebuked particularly this aspect of Devala's exposition that he believed in the *pradhānakāraṇavāda*.

Another difference, which is a corollary of the above fundamental disagreement, is the admittance of doctrine of *puruṣārthavāda*. Devala, like the *sāṅkhyas*, believes in two separate principles of *puruṣa* & *prakṛti* & hence there can be relation of enjoyer & the thing, enjoyed (*bhogyā* & *bhoktā*). The *sāṅkhyas* maintain the *puruṣārtha* to be of two kinds. (1) *bhoga* (enjoyment) & (2) *apavarga* (emancipation from the *prakṛti*). Devala, influenced by these theories propounds the *Dharma* to be constituting of twofold *puruṣārtha*, namely-*abhyudaya* & *niḥśreyasa*. But from the standpoint of Śaṅkarācārya, there is only one principle in reality & hence there can be no such relation of *bhogyā* & *bhoktā* from the transcendental point of view. He maintains⁵ that there is no relation of *artha* & *arthī*, which suggests that there is no scope for the *puruṣārthavāda* in reality.

From the practical, pragmatic standpoint, the practice of *Dharma*, sacrifices⁶ etc. is quite necessary for the purification of mind & can gradually lead to the salvation, according to Śaṅkarācārya. Sacrifices are *nitya* or compulsory & not *kāmya* (intentional). While acc. to Devala, the sacrifices are *kāmya* (intentional) & hence are optional. He seems to follow *sāṅkhya* doctrine that sacrifices cannot lead to salvation. Thus Śaṅkarācārya has upheld the Vedic religion in high esteem, by assigning proper scope to sacrifices, in his philosophy, while Devala, following the *Sāṅkhyas* seems to have minimized the importance of sacrificial ritual.

According to the followers of *Sāṅkhya* doctrine, there are only two alternatives from the practical point of view- (1) Enjoy the world-(i.e. *bhoga*, or *abhyudaya* etc. according to Devala) & (2) leave it forever-(i.e. *apavarga* or *niḥśreyasa* acc. to Devala). But the difficulty regarding Devala's philosophical standpoint is that he neither fully agrees with the *Sāṅkhya* doctrine nor entirely with the Vedic tradition, as expounded

by *Śaṅkārācāya*. On one hand, he admits the *Sāṅkhya* dualism, from the philosophical standpoint-with addition of *Brahman* as the Ultimate Reality- but is genuinely an expounder of *Dharma*, derived from the Vedic authority.

CONCLUSION :

In short, Devala, the follower of Vedic religion, expounded also the ancient *Sāṅkhya-Yoga* philosophy, that admitted even the doctrine of *Brahman*.

REFERENCES

1. Cf. Chakrvarti, Punimbihari-Origin & Development of the *Sāṅkhya* system of Thought, p. 26.
2. *Sa ca kāryakāraṇānanyatvābhyupagamātpatyāsanno vedāntavādasya/*
Devalaprabhṛtibhiḥ ca kaiściddharmasūtrakāraiḥ
svagranthesvāśritāḥ, tena tatpratīṣedhe yatno'tīva kṛto
nāṇvādikāraṇavādapratīṣedhe/
■ Bh.S.S. (1/4/28).
Vaidikasya darśanasya pratyāsannavādgurutaratarkabalopetatvād
vedānusāribhiḥ ca kaiścicchīṣṭaiḥ kenacidamśena
parigṛhītavātpradhānakāraṇavādam.....śiṣṭairmanuvy
āsaprabhṛtibhiḥ kenacidamśena parigṛhītā
ye'ṇvādikāraṇavādāste'pi.....
■ Bh. S. S. (III/1/12).
3. Ibid.
4. *Prakṛtiśca pratijñādrṣṭāntānuparodhāt/*
■ Bh. S. (1/4/23).
Prakṛtiśca upādānakāraṇam ca brahmābhyupagan-
tavyam, nimittakāraṇam ca/
■ Bh. S. S. (1/4/23).
5. *Arthī cārthaścānyonyabhinnau lakṣyetel*
.....Aprāpte hyarthe'rthino'rthitvam syāditil/.....tasmād

bhinnāvetāvarthārthinau/....Atrocyate-na, ekatvādeva
tapyatāpakabhāvānupapatteḥ/—Bh. S. S. (II/2/10).

6. Cf. *Agnihoṭrādi tu tatkāryāyaiva taddarśanāt/*
■ Bh. S. (IV/1/16) & Śaṅkarācārya's com.
on it.

CHAPTER : VII

RELEVANCE OF THE PRESENT TEXT IN THE MODERN AGE

INTRODUCTORY :

It is necessary to consider the question of the relevance of the present text in the Modern Age of Science & Technology-how far & in what manner, it can be said to be helpful for the betterment of the Modern World, swiftly progressing with the inventions of electronic instruments & terrorizing emergence of Atomic energy.

MODERN WORLD OF SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY :

It is evident that even though science has contributed to the greatest amenities of life, on account of advancement of science & technology and growth of industry, thereby accelerating the explosion of production, in plenty & variety, it is a sad fact that science has also been causal in producing highly destructive weapons like hydrogen & nuclear bombs, that can annihilate the entire world, within no time. Due to industrialization, as resultant effect, the ecological balance- the evolutionary & inherent order of Nature is violently disturbed & this has created the problem of pollution in all respects-nay, even the extinction of various species & substances. Thus science, which has been considered to be the boon to human society is turning itself into a dreadful curse & can lead us ultimately to the total annihilation, if not properly & rationally handled & put to useful & constructive purposes.

SOCIAL ATMOSPHERE :

From the social standpoint also, the picture is very gloomy. The significance of our ancient institutions is gradually

diminishing & there is no replacement by an adequately suitable new social set-up. Ideals & values of moral life have lost their significance in the society. The life has become merely materialistic. The importance of the spiritual & moral ideas has been forgotten. Hence there is neither peace of mind nor happiness nor contentment. The entire life has become intranquil & uncertain. This would surely lead to the chaos & anarchy in the society.

RELEVANCE & SIGNIFICANCE-INSIGHT, FORESIGHT & FARSIGHT OF THE SEERS :

Dr. Radhakrishnan rightly observes, "when civilization is in peril & the shemes of social reconstruction are in the air, it is wise to know, what the seers of the past have said on the deeper problems of thought & life"¹. The revered seers, equipped with insight, foresight & farsight, have not only "seen" the *Mantras* of *Vedas*, but also have recollected the precepts of norms of ideal human conduct, that lead towards the achievement of personal & social welfare. Devala is one of such seers, whose reflections on the problems of religion & philosophy would definitely be helpful in the attempt of re-orientation & construction of socio-cultural set-up.

PRINCIPLE OF DHARMA :

Moreover, it is the urgent & pressing need of the hour to investigate into the nature of the principle of *Dharma*, which is at the root of preservation & maintenance of the entire universe or creation & as values & ends of human life, which can contribute to the order, cohesion & well-being of the same. By pointing out the 'quintessence of Dharma' & by enlisting virtues as constituents of *Dharma*, Devala has laid great stress on the ideals of life. He has also enumerated, defined & explained three kinds of vices-mental, verbal & physical & pointed out the practicable & sure ways of elimination thereof. This is very important in the Modern World of degenerating social values & moral understanding. No society can ever live happily & peacefully, if the vices play a predominant role over virtues therein.

CHANGING & UNCHANGING ASPECTS :

In an ideal human society, there should be a proper relation of an individual with another individual, with his family-members & the community at large, all of which together & harmoniously contribute to the universal welfare, in which the individual & social good can simultaneously be achieved. Such directives, regarding ideal human society have been laid down by the seers, along with the time-honoured outward changes, that were necessary for the general good.

Shri J.R. Gharpure notes that, "society has been changing & with it, the ideas also.... As, however, the fundamental principles are sound & with changing details could be applicable at all times *mutantis mutandis*, society has been able to maintain its moorings, though the outwardly visible garb may have seemingly changed"².

Hence, it is quite natural to find every scripture to be having two sides, as remarked by Dr. Radhakrishnan, "every scripture has two sides, one temporary & perishable, belonging to the ideas of the people of the period & the country, in which it is produced & the other eternal & imperishable & applicable to all ages & countries. The intellectual expression & the psychological idiom are the products of time, while the permanent truths are capable of being lived & seen by a higher than intellectual vision at all times"³.

The *Smṛtis* deal with several aspects of society, such as laws, acts, statutes, rules, regulations, orders, proclamations, customs, conventions & duties-based upon the two aspects of reality-one changing impermanent & perishable, while the other, unchanging, eternal & imperishable. The rules, that are based upon the former would be equally changing with the difference in the external atmosphere, e.g. *Kalivarjya* (not applicable in *Kali* era), but the latter do not change at any time & place. The former may be described as 'orders', issued by the king or an authority, in accordance, with the changing circumstances, but the latter is 'law' (*Dharma*), that can never change; it is eternal, universal & irrevocable.

CHANGING ASPECT ALSO SIGNIFICANT :

The ideas may change, but the fundamental problems remain the same. The solution to these problems may be in accordance with the changing circumstances, but even while solving most of the social & religious problems, the earlier historical cases & their solution, can be of much help, as they always serve as example in concrete. Thus from the historical standpoint, the significance of the present text, as an ancient historical treatise, that tried to solve the socio-religious problems, for the sake of betterment, stability & well-being of Hindu society, cannot be undermined. For example, the problem of readmittance of Hindus, converted to Islam has been specially & effectively brought out & considered by Devala. His procedure & device provide at least guidelines & are worth being employed in the case of those, who wish to adopt Hindu fold, in the latest socio-religious upheavals & onslaught.

Moreover, the *Dharmasāstra* works are the treasurehouse of our knowledge of various aspects of human life & society. They can reflect much upon our ancient society, religion, philosophy, law, politics, history, geography, psychology etc. "Institutions are now viewed as growths, which suggest lines of evolution"⁴. Hence the history of any of the above fields cannot be complete & exhaustive, unless the information, available in those treatises is collected, referred to & scrutinized. The present ancient text of Devala is replete with all such information & hence deserves great historical significance. Prof. Max Muller once remarked that, "People that could feel no pride in the past, in its history....had lost the mainstay of its national character"⁵.

UNCHANGING IS MORE SIGNIFICANT :

The changing aspect, treated in the treatise can thus be important from the historical point of view. However, the unchanging aspect-the universal laws & eternal truths, the topics of spiritual importance-are all the more significant than the changing aspects. Especially, the present text deals with the *Sāṅkhya-Yoga* philosophy, which is in conformity with the

ancient *Sāṅkhya-Yoga* works. These ancient treatises the basis of Devala's exposition of the *Sāṅkhya-Yoga* have been completely lost now. Hence the information, available in the present text about the *Sāṅkhya-Yoga* is of great importance from this point of view of history of *Sāṅkhya-Yoga* philosophy & for understanding the nature & import of these ancient treatises, the information about which is hardly available.

From the practical point of view also, the process of *Yoga*, as expounded by Devala is of great value, even to the Modern spiritual disciples & aspirants of *Yoga*, in the Modern World, where the importance of *Yoga* is being greatly felt, recognized & emphasized, even in the foreign countries. Devala's ideas about *Yoga* would be of much interest & practical utility, if properly understood. His explanations are easy, useful & extremely practical to any follower of *Yoga*.

Moreover, for the religious adherant, the present text is one of those ancient treatises, that can guide him, in his practical life. He can get a good deal of information, both religious & philosophical, that can be helpful even now, in determining his practical way of day-to-day life, as also a pious & judicious practice thereof.

CONCLUSION :

To conclude, I feel it to be my sacred duty to put on record that my heart is filled with a kind of blissfulness, as I treat myself blessed for having been graced by the Almighty, in inspiring me to undertake the retrieval of the invaluable contribution of Devala, a great sage of repute & highly respected law-giver, who has been so held in high esteem by all his successors in the field.

REFERENCES

1. S. Radhakrishnan-General preface to the book *Pūrvanīmāṃsa, in its sources*, by Mm. Ganganath Jha.
2. Gharpure, J.R.-*Teaching of Dharmaśāstra*, pp. 100-101.

3. S. Radhakrishnan-*The Bhagavadgīta*, Preface, p. 8.
4. Aiyangar, Rangaswami-*Rajadharma*, p. 21.
5. Max Muller-vide-Banerjee S.C.-*Smṛtimaterial in Mahābhārata (Vol. I)* Text, Preface, p. ii.

I. AUTHORS & WORKS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

(A) AUTHORS

Sr. No.	Name	Reference (R.T. Sr. No.)
1	Aṅgiras	4
2	Apāre	1148, 1906
3	Āpastamba	4, 1114
4	Atri	4
5	Dakṣa	4
6	Devala	1788, 1813, 1816, 1848, 1857, 1884.
7	Gālava	744
8	Gautama	4
9	Gobhila	1234
10	Harihara	598
11	Hārīta	5
12	Jātūkarnya	363
13	Kātyāyana	5
14	Kecit	1034
15	Likhita	5
16	Manu	3, 4, 45, 1052 1059, 1360, 1511, 1565
17	Nārada	5
18	Parāśara	5
19	Samvarta	5
20	Śaṅkha	5
21	Uśanas	4
22	Vākpati	4
23	Vasiṣṭha	4
24	Viṣṇu	4
25	Vṛddhamanu	366
26	Vyāsa	4

27	Yājñavalkya	5
28	Yama	4
	(From the <i>Parīṣiṣṭa</i> on <i>Jyotiṣa</i>)	
1	Garga	9, 55
2	Vasiṣṭha	9
3	Yavana	5

(B) WORKS

1	<i>Bhāradvājasūtram</i>	1239
2	<i>Gajendramokṣa</i>	1929
3	<i>Purāṇam</i>	1040
4	<i>Skandapurāṇa</i>	1745
5	<i>Śruti</i>	624, 1313
6	<i>Tantrāṇi</i>	2210
7	<i>Viṣṇusahasranāma</i>	1929

II. MANTRAS QUOTED & INDICATED IN THE TEXT

(A) VEDIC MANTRAS QUOTED IN THE TEXT :

Mantra	Reference (Sr. No. of the R.T.)	Traced
1. <i>Āpyāyasva...</i>	880	RV-1.91.17, VS-12.114, TS-1.4. 32.1, TA-3.17.1, RV-1.91.16, 9.31.4, VS-12.112, TS-3.2.5.3, 4.2.7.4, TB-1.5.8.
2. <i>Bhūragnīśca...</i>	496	TB-3.10.2.
3. <i>Citram...</i>	878	RV-1.115.1, TA-3.9, AV-13.2.35,

		20.107.14, VS-7.42, 13.46, TS-1.4.43.1, 2.4.14.4, TB-2.8.7.3., TA-1.7.6., 2.13.1.
4. <i>Dhāmnah</i>	574	VS-6.22, TS-1.3.11.1, MS-1.2.18, 28.5, KS-3.8.
5. <i>Mukhādnirajāyata</i>	626	VS-31.12d
6. <i>Nihanmi sarvam...</i>	1459	<i>Gadādhara</i> paddhati on Kāt.S.S. p. 423.
7. <i>Prāṇānām granthirasi.</i>	657	TA-10.37, Mahā Nārā. Upa. 16/2.
8. <i>Puspavatī....</i>	1480	AV-8.7.27, KS-16.13.154, MS-2.7.168, TS-4.2.6.1.
9. <i>Sam te Payāṁsi...</i>	880	RV-1.91.18, VS-12.113, TS-4.2.7.4.
10. <i>Udutyam...</i>	878	RV-1.50.1, SV-31, AV-13.2.16, 20.47.13, VS-7.41, 8.41, 35.31, TS-1.2.8.2, 4.43.1.
11. <i>Upāvaroha jātaveda..</i>	1246	TB-2.5.8.8.
12. <i>Vasavastvā....</i>	604	VS-11.65, TS-4.1.6.3, MS-3.1.8, KS-16.6.
13. <i>Viṣṇo rarāta...</i>	1881	VS-5.21, TS-1.2.13.3, 6.2.9.4, MS-1.2.9, 19.10, 3.8.7, 105.11, KS-2.10, 25.8.
14. <i>Yajñopavitam...</i>	497	Pāra.gr. 2/2/10.

(B) VEDIC MANTRAS INDICATED IN THE TEXT :

1. <i>Ablīṅgakaistribhiḥ..</i>	485	RV-10.9.1-3, SV- 1837-1839,
	490	AV-1.5.1-3, VS- 11.50-52, 36.14-16, TS-4.1.5.1., 7.4.19.4, TA-4.42.4, 10.1.11 & 12.
2. <i>Aṣṭākṣaraiḥ navapadaiḥ</i>	603	-do-
3. <i>Gāyatrī.....</i>	680	RV-3.62.10, SV-1462,
	1350	VS-3.35, 22.9, 30.2,

	1527	36.3, TS-1.5.6.4, 4.1.11.1,
	1812	TA-1.11.2.
4. <i>Imammeti Catuṣkeṇa</i>	604	RV-1.25.19, 1.24.11, 4.1.4, 4.1.5, VS-21.1-4, MS-4.14.17, KS-21.13, TA-2.3.1, 4.1, 4.20.3.
5. <i>Kavyamantreṇa</i>	1468	VS-2.29.
6. <i>Mitrasya carṣanī tisro</i>	604	VS-11.62-64, TS-4.1.6.3, MS-3.1.8, KS-16.6, TA-4.3.2.
7. <i>Mṛtyuñjayena mantreṇa</i>	2002	RV-7.59.12. AV- 14.1.17, VS-3.60, TS-1.8.6.2.
8. <i>Puruṣasūkta...</i>	1930	RV-10.90, SV-617-621, AV-19.6.1-16, VS-31.1-16, TA-3.12.
9. <i>Sāvitrī....</i>	495, 505 1386	RV-3.62.10, SV-1462, VS-3.35, 22.9, 30.2, 36.3, TS-1.5.6.4, 4.1.11.1, TA-1.11.2.
10. <i>Vasavaḥ pitaro...</i>	1313	—
<i>Śrutireṣā sanātani</i>		
11. <i>Vastreṇa Vāth Par- ṇena iti hi śrutih</i>	624	—

(C) NON-VEDIC MANTRAS QUOTED IN THE TEXT

1. <i>Raurave pūyanilaye ...</i>	661	—
2. <i>Rohantu Sarvasasyāni</i>	App. 38	
3. <i>Tvam Vai Vasundhare</i>	App. 37	
<i>Site....</i>		

III. PLACE-NAMES OCCURRING IN THE TEXT

Sr. No.	Name	Reference R.T. No.	Identification
1.	Ādityatīrtha	2158	On river Sarasvatī
2.	Ahobala	2170	Vaiṣṇavatīrtha in Karnul district of Andhra State
3.	Airāvati	2156	Ravi river in Panjab (Irāvati)
4.	Akhaṇḍā	1986	
5.	Anantākhyā	2177	A Vaiṣṇavakṣetra
6.	Aṅga	1809	Country about the Modern Bhagalpur in Bengal
7.	Arjunīyā	2156	A feeder of the Rapti in Oudh (Acc. to K.V.R. Aiyangar). He takes it as identical with Bāhudā, But Ac. to Devala-passage, they are two separate rivers.
8.	Aruṇā	2156	River between Sarasvatī & Dīṣadvatī near Pruthūdaka; seven Kosis in Nepal of which the Aruṇā is the most important.
9.	Bāhudā	2156	See above in Sr. No. 7.
10.	Bhāgīrathī	1985	i.e. Ganges
11.	Bhārata	885	i.e. India
12.	Bhavanāśinī	1986, 2170.	Name of the river Sarayu
13.	Bhīmā or	2156	Tributary of the Kṛṣṇā
14.	Bhīmarathī	1986	in Dakkhan
15.	Candrabhāgā	2156	Chenab in Punjab or same of Bhīmā, tributary of Kṛṣṇā
16.	Cāpāgra	1704	
17.	Carmanvatī	2156	The Chambal of Rājaputānā, the chief tributary of the Jumna
18.	Chagala	2161	
19.	Darbhaśayana	2176	

Sr. No.	Name	Reference R.T. No.	Identification
20.	Devadāruvana	2161	Aundh in the Nizam's dominions, in Himālayas near Badarīnātha, Near Vijayeśvara in Kasmir.
21.	Devaparvata	2162	Aravalli Hills.
22.	Devikā	2156	River Degh in Punjab
23.	Dhanuṣkoṭi	1986, 2175.	A sacred place to the south end of Rāmeśvara, where both the oceans meet.
24.	Dharmapuri	2169	
25.	Ekāmra	2172	Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa, about 20 miles from Cuttack
26.	Gaṇḍakī	1810, 2156.	River flowing into Ganges, at Sonapur in Bihar, it rises from Himālayas.
27.	Gandhamādana	1704, 2159, 2175.	The part of Himalayan range, in which Badrināth is situated.
28.	Gaṅgā	562,563,566, 567,569,1332, 2156,2198.	The famous Gaṅgā river
29.	Gaṅgādvāra	2157	The place, where the Ganges enters the plains (also called Haridvara).
30.	Gaṅgāsāgara	2157	The mouth of the Ganges, Near Saugor island
31.	Gaṅgāsāgara-saṅgama	1986, 2168.	The place, where the Ganges enter the ocean
32.	Gaṅgāyāḥ Tīrthāni	2157	
33.	Gautamī	563, 2163.	An epithet of the Godāvarī, name of the river Gomati
34.	Gayā	1307,1332, 2160,2168, 2181.	Name of a city in Bihar
35.	Gayāśiras	2160	Modom Brahmayoni hills

Sr. No.	Name	Reference R.T. No.	Identification
36.	Gharghara	564	The river Gogra in Oudh
37.	Godāvārī	1985,2156.	The famous Godāvārī river
38.	Gomatī	563,2156.	Gumti river in Oudh
39.	Hariścandra	2162	A mountain
40.	Hemakūṭa	2169	Kailāsa mountain
41.	Himavān	2162	Himālayas
42.	Hiraṇyākṣa	564	A river
43.	Jāhnavī	571,1202.	The river Ganges
44.	Jambūdvīpa	1201	Name of one of the seven continents, surrounding the mountain Meru.
45.	Jambūmārga	2161	An āyatana on the Ganges, or a Kṣetra between Puṣkara and Mount Abu.
46.	Jambūnātha	2173	May be Jambukeśvara in Vārāṇasi
47.	Kālahastīśvara	2171	A Śaivatīrtha in Tamilnadu
48.	Kālāñjara	2161	Modern Kalinjar in Bundelkhand
49.	Kaliṅga	1809	A district on the coromandel coast
50.	Kanakhala	2157	Two miles east of Haridvar
51.	Karatoyā	1810	River in Bengal Called Sadānirā
52.	Karmanāsā	1810	River between Kāśī & Bihar
53.	Kāśikā	1702,2168.	Benaras or Kāśī
54.	Kubera	2158	A Śārasvatatīrtha
55.	Kauśikī	2156	Modern Kuśī river from Himālayas
56.	Kāverī	1986,2156, 2174.	The famous South-Indian river, rising from the Sahya mountain
57.	Kāverisaṅgama	2159	The mouth of Kaverī at Kaverīpatnam near Māyavaram.

Sr. No.	Name	Reference R.T. No.	Identification
58.	Kedāra	2161	Self-revealed Kṣetra of Śiva, modern Kedāranātha, at the confluence of the Mandākinī and Dūdhagaṅgā
59.	Kīkaṭa	1816	A country in Bihar
60.	Koka	564	A river
61.	Kṛṣṇaveṇī	1985,2169.	Mahuli about four miles from Sātārā is at the confluence of Kṛṣṇā and Yenna (Veṇya)
62.	Kumbhakoṇa	2173	Modern Kumbhakoṇam in Tanjor district
63.	Kurukṣetra	1332,2160, 2181	25 miles east of Ambala and 40 miles north of Panipat
64.	Lohita	564	River Brahmaputrā
65.	Madhurā	2174	Modern Mathurā
66.	Madhyama	2161	
67.	Madhyārjuneśa	2173	A Śaivatīrtha, 5 miles from Kumbhakoṇam in Tanjore district of Tamilnadu.
68.	Māgadha	2198	Bihar
69.	Mahābhairava	2161	A Śaivatīrtha
70.	Mahākāla	2161	Śaivatīrtha in Ujjain
71.	Mahānadi	1816	A river, starting from Vindhya, flowing in Orissa and falling into the Bay of Bengal.
72.	Mahendra	2161	A mountain range, extending from the mouths of the Ganges or Orissa to Madurā
73.	Malahārī	1986	River rising from Sahya about 22 miles southeast of Belgaum, modern Malaprabhā

Sr. No.	Name	Reference R.T. No.	Identification
74.	Mallikārjuna	2170	Śivaliṅga on moutain Śrīśaila
75.	Mārkaṇḍeya	2169	On Gomatīgāṅgāsaṅgama or Jagannātha or Puri in Orissa
76.	Naimiṣa	1332,2158.	The country about Modern Nimsar, on the left bank of the Gumti, 40 miles from Lucknow
77.	Nandāvari	2156	The Mahānandā in the U.P., which runs east of Kuśī (Kauśikī) with which it is mentioned in the text
78.	Narmadā	1985,2156.	The famous Narmadā river
79.	Nṛsimha	2170	
80.	Oghavati	2174	River in Punjab
81.	Pampā	2156	A Lake, tributary of Tuṅgabhadra
82.	Pañcagaṅgā	601	Five rivers, Gaṅgā, Godāvari, Kṛṣṇā, Pinākinī (Pennar) & Kāveri
83.	Parṇāśā	2156	The river Banas in Rajputana
84.	Pāṣāṇatīrthā	2156	A river
85.	Pinākina	2171	
86.	Pinākinī	1985	The river Pennar
87.	Plakṣa	562	The spring from which Sarasvatī has its source
88.	Plakṣaprasravaṇa	2158	-do-
89.	Prabhāsa	2158	In Saurāṣṭra near the sea, had famous temple of Somanātha, one of the twelve Jyotirlingas, broken by Mahmud of Gazni; Sarasvatī falls into sea near it.
90.	Prayāga	1332,1986,	Known as Tīrtharāja near

Sr. No.	Name	Reference R.T. No.	Identification
		2157,2160, 2168.	Allahabad
91.	Prthūdaka	2158	Pehoa in Karnal district, in Punjab, 14 miles from Thanesar
92.	Puṣkara	2160	The Puṣkara lake, six miles from Ajmer.
93.	Rāmajayāvātī	2170	
94.	Rāmaliṅga	2175	A sacred place near Varanasi; or it may be Rāmeśvara in south, the famous Jyotirlinga.
95.	Rudra Mahālaya	2161	Tīrtha under Vārāṇasi.
96.	Sahya	2162	The Northern section of the Western ghats in South India.
97.	Sāmudrākhyā... Tīrthāni....	2159	
98.	Saptanadisaṅga	2169	
99.	Sārasvata...	2158	Connected with river
100.	Sārasvatāni...	2158	Sarasvatī
101.	Sarasvatī	562,566, 1332,1985, 2156.	The famous river
102.	Sarasvatisaṅgama	2159	The place where Sarasvatī meets the Ocean, near Prabhāsa
103.	Śarayū	2156	Śarayu river in Ayodhya
104.	Śatadru	564	The Sutlej river in Punjab
105.	Śataśṛṅga	2162	A Mountain
106.	Śaukara	2157	Soron on the Ganges, Twentyone miles N.E. of Etah, U.P.
107.	Saurāṣṭra	1809	Modern Peninsula of Kathiawar.
108.	Sauvira	1809	Modern Province of Sindh;

Sr. No.	Name	Reference R.T. No.	Identification
109.	Simhagiri	2169	region between Indus & Jhelum A Vaiṣṇava Kṣetra, probably the same as Simhācalam Temple of Nṛsiṃhāvātāra of Viṣṇu, six miles north west of Vizakhapatanam
110.	Sindhu	564,1809, 1813,2156, 2168.	Modern Indus, Sindhu is also the name of the country through which the river flows.
111.	Śoṇa	564,2156.	The river Śone in Bihar; a nada, rises near where the Narmadā rises in the Amarakaṇṭaka hill.
112.	Śrīraṅga	2173	Modern Śrīraṅgam, an island between Kāverī about 2 miles north of Trichinapoly & Coleroon
113.	Śrīśaila	2168,2180.	Hill, situated in Karnal district on the south side of the Kṛṣṇā river, 50 miles from Kṛṣṇā station.
114.	Subrahmaṇya	2177	In Muttura of south Kanada district of Mysore
115.	Sucakṣu	2156	
116.	Sundareśa	2174	
117.	Svarṇamukhi	2171	The river in Arkota district of Tamilnadu
118.	Tāmraparṇi	1986,2156 2176	The river in Tinnevely district of south India
119.	Tāpī	2156	River rising from the Vindhya mountain & flowing into Arabian Sea, near Surat in Gujarat
120.	Trastāvatāra	2161	

Sr. No.	Name	Reference R.T. No.	Identification
121.	Trilocana	2169	In Varanasi
122.	Triśaṅku	1816	
123.	Tuṅgabhadrā	1985	The two rivers Tuṅgā and Bhadrā rise in the Mysore state and join to form the Tuṅgabhadrā near Kudli in Mysore State; The river falls into Kṛṣṇā near Alampur in the Raichur District.
124.	Urvaśa	2160	A Kṣetra Near Prayāga
125.	Utpalāvati	2156	River rising from mountain Malaya
126.	Vaidyanātha	2171	Temple of Vaidyanātha, one of the 12 Jyotirlingas at Deoghar in Santhal Paragana.
127.	Vaijayanta	2158	A Sārasvatatīrtha
128.	Vaitaraṇī	1252	The river of Hell
129.	Vaṁśodbheda	2158	
130.	Vaṅga	1809	Eastern Bengal
131.	Vaṅjulā	1986	River, rising from the Sahya and falling into Godāvari
132.	Varadarāja	2172	Kāñcīpuram in Tamilnadu
133.	Vārānasi	2161	Modern Benaras
134.	Veṅkaṭādri	2171	Name of the mountain on which the sacred place of Tirupati is situated
135.	Vetravati	2156	The Betawa river in Malwa
136.	Vidvara	2162	
137.	Vinaśana	2158	The spot in the Sirhind desert, where Sarasvati river is lost in sands.
138.	Vindhyapurvata	2162	The famous Vindhya ranges

Sr. No.	Name	Reference R.T. No.	Identification
139.	Vipāśā	2156	The Beas in Punjab
140	Virajā	2181	The river in Orissa
141.	Viśālā	2181	Ujjain or an affluent of the Gaṇḍaka
142.	Viṣṇuśiras	2161	On the Trivenī above Nāthapura in Purnea district
143.	Vitastā	2156	The river Jhelum in Punjab
144.	Vṛddhakanyākā	2158	A Sārasvatatīrtha
145.	Yamunā	562,566, 1985,2156 2168.	The famous Yamunā river in North

IV. DEVALA-A FORGOTTEN AUTHORITY ON JYOTIṢA

INTRODUCTORY

The *Bṛhatsamhitā* of Varāhamihira (500 A.D.—550 A.D.) is one of the authoritative ancient works on *Jyotiṣa*. From this work, it is evident that there were numerous writers on *Jyotiṣa*, who preceded Varāhamihira.¹ The original works of most of them have been irretrievably lost. Varāhamihira has referred to and quoted the views of his predecessors at numerous places in his works. Devala (also known as Asita-Devala) is one of such prominent ancient authorities on *Jyotiṣa*, frequently referred to and even quoted by Varāhamihira², but unfortunately his original work has become extinct and gone into oblivion. Not only Varāhamihira, but numerous writers other on *Jyotiṣa* (and *Dharmaśāstra*)—the commentators and digest-writers have quoted and referred to the views of Devala, on various topics, relating to the *Jyotiṣaśāstra*. In this paper, the present researcher has made an attempt to collect and study the available references and quotations from the irretrievably lost work of Devala on *Jyotiṣa* and has noted down his conclusions, derived from their study.

References to the work of Devala :—In the following works on *Jyotiṣa* (and also on *Dharmaśāstra*), the views of Devala relating to the varied topics on *Jyotiṣa* are referred to.

(1) *Bṛhatsamhitā*—The views of Devala are frequently referred to by Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhatsamhitā*, in various contexts. The four motions of Mercury are described in accordance with the opinion of Devala (7.15-16)³. He frankly declares at the beginning of the *Ketucāra*, (11.1)⁴ that after having comprehended the peculiarities of *Ketucāra*, as described by seers like Garga, Parāśara, Asita-Devala etc., he is expounding it in an unambiguous manner. While describing omens also, he explicitly admits that he was writing it only after having gone through the work of Rṣabha, incorporating the views of Indra, Śukra, Devala etc. (86.1)⁵.

In the above references, Devala is expressly mentioned while at the following two places, the views of Devala are indirectly mentioned by the words 'Kaiścid'⁶ and 'anye'⁷ in the *Bṛhatsamhitā* (9/1 and 23/2) as explained by the commentator Utpala.

(2) *Adbhutasāgara of Ballālasena* (1158 A.D.—1183 A.D.):—Ballālasena informs us at the beginning of his work *Adbhutasāgara* that he has compiled his work, after having properly scrutinized the various original works and abstracts of the quotations of numerous writers on *Jyotiṣa* (like Devala etc.).⁸ He quotes a verse from the *Atharvaṇādbhuta*⁹ in his section called *ketvadbhutāvarta* in which Devala's view of innumerable comets is mentioned. Similarly in *Rkṣādyadbhutāvarta* section also, there is a quotation, ascribed to Varāha, taken from *Yogayātra*¹⁰. In it Devala's view is referred to. Moreover, in a citation from the Rṣiputra's work, the opinion of Devala, regarding the 'nāgaratva' of planet is considered.¹¹

(3) *Jyotirribandha* :—The view of Devala about *Jāmītra* (the seventh Zodiacal sign from the natal sign) is considered through a citation of *Nārada*.¹² There is also a reference to Devala's view regarding *Yātrā* in a quotation from the *Yātrāpradīpa*.¹³

(4) *Piyūṣadhārā* (1603 A.D.):—In this commentary on *Muhūrtacintāmaṇi*, a verse ascribed to Lalla is met with, wherein

Devala's view about *Yātrā* is taken into consideration.¹⁴

(5) *Malamāsattva*:—In this work of Raghunandana (1510-1580 A.D.), there is a quotation from *Bhujabalabhīma*, in which there is an abstract of opinions of Devala and other seers, pertaining to the prohibition of marriage etc. during the period of '*Gurvastā*'.¹⁵

(6) *Bṛhad yogayātrā and Yogayātrā*:—M.M.P.V. Kane has noted that there is a reference to the view of Devala in the *Bṛhad yogayātrā* (19.1) and the *Yogayātrā* (9.12).¹⁶ There are two citations of *Ṛṣiputra*, in the *Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary on Yogayātrā*, in which Devala's view is alluded to.¹⁷

Quotations from Devala's Jyotiṣa:—Not only the references to the views of Devala pertaining to the topics of *Jyotiṣa* are found in the works on *Jyotiṣa* and *Dharmaśāstra* but also citations from his extinct work are met with.

(1) *Commentaries of Bhaṭṭotpala*—(966 A.D.):—Numerous quotations from Devala's work are found cited in the commentaries of *Bhaṭṭotpala*. In his commentary¹⁸ on the *Bṛhatsamhitā*, there are about twelve citations in *anuṣṭubh* metre, which deal with the following topics of *Jyotiṣa*—(1) *Rāhucāra*—1 *Śloka*, (2) *Budhacāra*—5 *Śloka*s, (3) *Śukracāra*—1 *Śloka*, (4) *Śanaiścāra*—1 *Śloka*, (5) *Grahavarṣaphala*—1 *Śloka*, (6) *Pravarṣaṇa*—1 *Śloka*, (7) *Sandhyā-lakṣaṇa* one & half *Śloka*. The quotations of Devala are also found in his commentary on the *Bṛhad yogayātrā* (12/15, 19.1).¹⁹

(2) *Adbhutasāgara*—(1168 A.D.):—In the *Adbhutasāgara* of Ballālasena, a long extract from Devala's work is met with in the *Ketvadbhutāvarta* section.²⁰ Here in about twenty-three verses in *anuṣṭubh* metre, the comets more than 108 in number, of nine kinds, appearing in the twenty-seven asterisms and their effects, are dealt with. In the *Pravarṣaṇādbhutāvarta* section also, Devala's view regarding *Pravarṣaṇa* is cited.²¹ Devala's quotations dealing with the portents (*ariṣṭas*) are also cited in the *Svapnādbhutāvarta*, *ṇayanāriṣṭa* and *Kāyāriṣṭa* sections.²²

(3) *Jyotistattva*:—There are many quotations of Devala in the *Jyotistattva* of Raghunandana (1551-1580 A.D.). In a long extract from Devala, of twenty-three *anuṣṭubh Śloka*s²³, dealing with *Jyotiṣa*, connected with *Kṛṣi*, the topics like

halapravartana, *bijāropaṇa* and malicious omens and portents, that connect them are elucidated. There are two verses of Devala,²⁴ incorporating the views of Vasiṣṭha and Garga, regarding the peculiar period of the Jupiter and Venus, prohibited for the auspicious occasions like marriage etc. The first one of the above verse, is also found cited 'as a verse of Devala from *Rājamārtanḍa*, in the *Malamāsattva* of Raghunandana'.²⁵

Thus it is evident that Devala was an ancient writer on *Jyotiṣa*, who must have composed an extensive work, dealing with the various topics, like that of the *Bṛhatsamhitā* of Varāhamihira. He preceded Varāhamihira, who flourished in the first half of 6th century A.D.

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2. *Bṛhatsamhitā of Varāhamihira* (with com. of *Bhaṭṭotpala*) Vol. I & II, Benares, 1987; 11/1, 23/4, 86/1-4.
गार्गीयं शिखिचारं पाराशरमसितदेवलकृतं च ।
अन्यांश्च बहून् दृष्ट्वा क्रियतेऽयमनाकुलक्षारः ॥
बृ.सं ११/१
3. *Ibid*, 7/15 and 16.
4. *Ibid*, 11/1.
5. *Ibid*, 86/1.
6. *Ibid*, 9/1.
7. *Ibid*, 23/4.
8. *Adbhutasāgara of Ballālasena*, ed. Muralidar Jha Benares, 1905, p. 2.
पीलुकार्यनृपपुत्रदेवलान् भार्गवीयबिजवायकाश्रयपान् ।
वचनं तेषां सारान् बहुशोऽथान्वीक्ष्य सोऽद्राक्षीत् ॥

अदभुतसागर पृ० २

9. *Ibid*, p. 194.
10. *Ibid*, p. 271.
11. *Ibid*, p. 219.
12. *Jyotirribandha of Śivarāja*, ed. S.R. Vaidya, Anandashram, Poona, 1919, p. 153.
13. *Ibid*, p. 186.
14. *Muhūrtacintāmaṇi of Rāmadaivajña*, with com. Piyūṣadhārā, Nirayasagar, Bombay, 1907, p. 332.
15. *Smṛtitattva of Raghunandana*, ed. Jivanand Vidyasagar, Vol. I, sec. ed., Calcutta, 1895, p. 829.
जीवोऽर्केण युतः करोति मरणं बालांशुकोभागुरिः।
नक्षत्रैकगतं वदन्ति यवना पादस्थितो देवलः॥

स्मृ.प 829

16. cf. Footnote 1 (b), pp. 5-6.
17. *Ibid*, 16.
18. *Bṛhatsarṇhitā*-with com. of Utpala-5/3, 7/16, 9/1, 10/19, 19/22, 23/4, 30/32.
19. cf. footnote-1 (b), p. 6
20. *Adbhutasāgara* P. 152.
21. *Ibid*, P. 373.
22. *Ibid*, PP. 506-556
23. *Smṛtitattva*-Vol. PP. 686-688.
24. *Ibid*, PP. 605-606.
25. *Ibid*, P. 825.

V. THE UNNOTICED DEVALA-EXPOSITION OF COMETS

('Devala', also known as 'Asita Devala', is an ancient authority on the exposition of comets. Though none of his works has been found so far, he has been often referred to and quoted by many authors and commentators in their works. The author in this paper has tried to elucidate the exposition of Devala in comparison to Varāhamihira and Parāśara on the basis of the available references and quotations of his extinct work.)

In the comprehensive field of *Jyotiṣaśāstra* (the science

of Luminaries), there were numerous works called *sarṇhitās* of ancient seers dealing with the diversified topics, pertaining to both, astronomy and astrology. The *Bṛhatsarṇhitā* of Varāhamihira (about 500 A.D.-550 A.D.) is one of such extant ancient works. Varāhamihira has referred to and quoted the views of many ancient writers on *Jyotiṣa* who were his predecessors. In course of time, the original works of some of them became extinct and are not now available.¹ The commentators and digest-writers on *Jyotiṣa* (and also *Dharmaśāstra*) have quoted the verses from the now extinct original works of the ancient seers. Devala (also known as Asita-Devala) is also one such ancient astrologers who preceded Varāhamihira and whose original work has completely gone into oblivion. Devala is frequently referred to by Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhatsarṇhitā*² and is quoted profusely also by Utpala in his commentaries.³ The digests like the *Adbhutasāgara*⁴, the *Jyotiṣtattva*⁵ etc. also contain numerous quotations from the lost work of Devala. In short, Devala was an ancient authority on *Jyotiṣa*, well-respected even by the esteemed astrologers like Varāhamihira and had definitely flourished in a period earlier than that of Varāhamihira (i.e. 500 A.D.-550 A.D.)

Among the collected quotations (about 81), there is a comprehensive abstract from Devala-work in the *Adbhutasāgara* (p. 152) of Vallālasena which deals mainly with the very important topic, namely that of comets. The year 1986 was the year of the appearance of Halley's comet on the horizon. Great inquisition and curiosity shoot fourth amongst both—the common man and the astrologer-scientists, regarding the natural phenomenon of comets. Modern scientists, with their advanced electronic, computerized techniques and telescopic instruments, under their control are making great efforts to understand, scrutinize and explain this mysterious phenomenon. But it is all the more important, pertinent and necessary to study and understand what our ancient seers like Devala, etc. have declared regarding the nature, the region of appearance, number and effect of the comets, observed by them, not with highly developed telescopic instruments, but with their keen and powerful eye-sight, supported mainly by their far-sight, foresight and insight.

The comets are one of the most inscrutable, mysterious and inexplicable phenomena, appearing on the horizon. The scientists and astrologers have made great attempts to understand and explain them, right from the period before Varāhamihira. In the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (XI.I), Varāhamihira explicitly declares that he has explained the movements of comets, after having gone through the works of sages like Garga, Parāśara, Asita-Devala and many others bearing on the subject.⁶ He has also pointed out that there is no unanimity regarding the number of comets.⁷ Some sages like Parāśara speak of 101 comets, while others like Garga explain 1,000 comets. Nārada declares that there is only one comet, appearing in many forms. It is remarkable that Devala has explained more than 108 comets of nine kinds, appearing in the groups of the triad of asterisms, beginning from *Kṛttikā*, portending good or evil consequences.

Devala had explained the comets, in the following nine groups. There are in all twenty-seven asterisms. Devala begins his enumeration of asterisms from the *Kṛttikā* and ends in the *Bharaṇī*. Hence each triad of asterisms like the *Kṛttikā*, the *Rohiṇī* and the *Mṛga* form one group. There would be nine such groups of three asterisms ending in the *Bharaṇī*.

1. The comets of 15 kinds, called *āgneya Ketus*, are seen in the middle-region of the earth, appearing in the three asterisms, namely *Kṛttikā*, *Rohiṇī* and *Mṛga* portending evil effects such as destruction of human beings and perturbation among kings.
2. In the east region of the horizon, comets, known as *Raudra Ketus* of twenty-one kinds are observed, appearing in the asterisms namely *Ārdrā*, *Punarvasu* and *Puṣya* suggesting evil effect of famine.
3. In the south-east quarter, among the three asterisms namely *Āślēṣā*, *Maghā* and *Pūrvā*, ten comets, designated as sons of *Uddālaki* are visualized. They are good in their effect, forecasting plenty of water, food, etc. and well-being of the people in general.
4. In the southern direction, in the asterisms *Uttarā*, *Hastā*, *Citrā*, *Kāśyapa Ketus* of 14 kinds are found. They prognosticate severe danger from drought.

5. The four comets born of the Death (*Mṛtyu-Saṃbhavāḥ*) shoot forth in the south-west in the asterisms namely *Svātī*, *Viśākhā* and *Anurādhā* which in the opinion of Garga, indicate famine, drought and dangerous pestilence in which there is great trouble to and destruction of creatures.
6. In the asterisms, *Jyēṣṭhā*, *Mūla* and *Pūrvāṣādhā* in the west region of the horizon, the comets, born of Soma (*Soma-Saṃbhavāḥ*) are seen proclaiming the forth-coming good days of plenty of food and rain-water. The earth becomes crowded with festivals and sacrifices.
7. In the three asterisms, namely *Uttārāṣādhā*, *Śravaṇa*, *Dhanīṣṭhā*, comets of twenty-five types called *Māheya* are visible, foreboding destruction of the people and of thousands of kings.
8. The *Vāruṇa* comets of three sorts appear in the three asterisms namely *Śatātārakā*, *Pūrvābhādrapadā* and *Uttarābhādrapadā*. They are named as *Ūrmiketu*, *Śvetaketu* and *Dhūmaketu*. The *Ūrmiketu* foretells danger from water. The *Śvetaketu* makes the entire earth full of white bones. Human beings are seen devouring human flesh. The mother does not recognise her son, nor the son his mother. The father does not feel any affection for his son; nor a wife her husband or any relative for any other relative. The entire world revolves like a wheel, being afflicted very much by the dire consequence of dreadful famine. The *Dhūmaketu* predicts the dire effect of slaughter of kings, ministers, the warriors and the entire region along with the kingdom, subjects and forests, etc.
9. The thirteen sorts of comets, named sons of Yama appearing in the triad of asterisms, namely *Revatī*, *Āśvinī* and *Bharaṇī* declare the forth-coming evil consequences of annihilation of the fourfold groups of creatures namely trees, human beings, animals and birds.

The above data is systematically arranged in the following

table for clear understanding of the exposition of Devala about Comets :

CHART SHOWING COMETS

Asterism	Region	Number	Name	Effect
1. Kṛttikā Rohiṇī Mṛga	Middle Region of the earth	15	Āgneya	Destruction of people Pertur- bance among kings Famine
2. Ādrā Punarvasu Puṣya	East	21	Raudra	
3. Āśleṣā Maghā Pūrvā	South- East	10	Uddālaki sutāḥ	Plenty of water, food etc.
4. Uttarā Hasta Citrā	South	14	Kāśya- peyāḥ	Drought
5. Svāti Viśākhā Anurādhā	South- west	4	Mṛtyu- sambhavāḥ	Famine Drought Pestilence.
6. Jyesthā Mūla Pūrvāṣāḍhā	West	-	Somasam- bhavāḥ	Plenty of food and Water
7. Uttarāṣāḍhā Śravaṇa Dhanīṣṭhā	—	25	Māheyāḥ	Destruction of people and kings.
8. Śatatārakā Pūrvābhā- drapadā	—	3	Vāruṇāḥ	
Uttarābhā- drapadā			1. Ūrmi- ketu	1. Danger from water
			2. Śveta- ketu	2. Danger- ous Famine
			3. Dhū- maketu	3. Slaugh- ter of kings etc.

9. Revatī Aśvinī Bharāṇī	— 13	Yamaput- rāḥ	Destruction of four kinds of creatures.
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It is remarkable and noteworthy that Devala starts his exposition from the asterism *Kṛttikā* and ends in *Bharāṇī*, following the ancient method of enumeration of asterisms. This may indicate the antiquity of Devala's exposition. Devala's explicit mention of the view of Garga⁸, clearly indicates his posterity to Garga. Regarding comets, it would be clear that some of them also predict well-being, while the *Dhūmaketu* is no doubt dreadful in effect.

Comparison of Devala with that of Varāhamihira :

Varāhamihira gives characteristic features of each comet (*Bṛhatsamhitā*, Ch. XI), while Devala merely points out the region of horizon and triad of asterisms of appearance of comets. Varāhamihira has explained one thousand comets, following the exposition of Garga (XI. 16), while Devala describes more than 108 comets. Varāhamihira mentions comets of fire to be twenty-five in number, appearing in the south-east direction, foretelling danger from fire, (XI. II) while Devala describes asterisms—*Kṛttikā*, *Rohiṇī* and *Mṛga*, predicting the destruction of kings and subjects, but there is no specification of its being due to the fire. The *Raudraketus* are explained by both Devala and Varāhamihira (XI. 32). The comets, born of Death are described to be 25 in number, appearing in the southern direction (XI. 12), but Devala mentions them to be only in four in number and are said to appear in the South-west region. Consequences are identical. The comets, born of Soma, portending well-being and plenty of good and rainwater are said to appear in the West by Devala while in the North by Varāhamihira. (XI. 14). The *Māheya Ketu* described by Devala are said to be 25 in number, while the *Dharātanayas* mentioned by Varāhamihira (XI. 13) are twenty-two. Devala does not mention the particular region, but only the triad of asterisms namely *Uttarāṣāḍhā*, *Śravaṇa* and *Dhanīṣṭhā* while Varāhamihira (XI. 13) specifies the North-east region. The effect described by both is identical. The *Śvetaketu* (XI. 39) is a dreadful

comet, destroying 2/3 of the entire population, while Devala mentions it to be of disastrous effects, producing great destruction on earth. The other *ketus* described by them are different.

Comparison of Devala with that of Parāśara :

Parāśara⁹ is said to have described 101 comets, Devala explains more than 108 comets. Parāśara classifies 16 as born of the breath of Death, 10 of Raudra's wrath, 15 as sons of Uddālaka, 17 born of the foreheads of sages Marici and Kaśyapa, 3 of the fire, one of smoke and 14 born along with the Moon, while Devala describes the number of them to be different in each of the above cases. He mentions 4 to have been born of the Death, 21 of Rudra, 10 sons of Uddālaka, 14 of Kaśyapa, 15 of the fire, one as *Dhūmaketu*, no number is mentioned in case of those born of the Moon. Other comets described by both of them are different.

It would be clear from the above discussion that though there is some similarity among Devala, Varāhamihira, Garga, and Parāśara, there is ample diversity and originality in Devala's exposition, which can reflect upon his being independent and prominent authority of high esteem, who succeeded the famous astrologer Garga (C. 50 B.C. acc. to Kern), but preceded Varāhamihira (about 500 A.D.—550 A.D.).

Thus Devala, an ancient astrologer has explained the natural phenomenon, the appearance of comets, along with its consequences. The History of ancient astronomy and astrology (*Jyotiṣaśāstra*) remains incomplete and uncomprehensive, unless and untill the elucidations of the ancient seers like Devala, etc. whose works are extinct are taken into consideration. His exposition of comets is remarkable and noticeable, when the topic of comets is considered in the light of ancient expositions. It is no doubt a pressing need of the hour, to corroborate the views of ancient seers with the discoveries of Modern Scientists, but at any rate, the value of the elucidations of ancient seers, who made satisfactory and considerable progress in the field of *Jyotiṣa*, without the help of sophisticated telescopic instruments, can never be underrated.

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6. *Bṛhasamhitā* XI/1
गार्गीयं शिखिचारं पाराशरमसितदेवलकृतं च ।
अन्यांश्च बहून् दृष्ट्वा क्रियतेऽयमनाकुलश्चारः ॥
7. *Bṛhasamhitā* XI/5
शतमेकाधिकमेके सहस्रमेके वदन्ति केतूनाम् ।
बहुरूपमेकमेव प्राह मुनिर्नारदः केतुम् ॥
8. *Adbhutasāgara*, p. 152
केतवो ह्यत्र दृश्यन्ते चत्वारो मृत्युसंभवाः ।
अयं च विविधं विद्याद् गर्गस्य वचनं यथा ।
9. *Adbhutasāgara*, p. 166-167, *Bṛhasamhitā* 11.5 Comm. of Utpala

VI.

Additional passages ascribed to Devala in the Yatidharmasamuccaya, of Yādava Prakāśa (vide Rules and Regulations of Brahmanical Asceticism, *Yatidharmasamuccaya of Yādava Prakāśa*, edited and translated by Patrick Olivelle, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1995).

1. द्वापरादियुगे चैव पात्रभोजी यतिर्भवेत् ।
कलौ स्वपात्रे नैवाद्याद्धारयेत्तु कुण्डिकाम् ॥
—3.70
2. शोधयेच्च चतुर्लिङ्गमङ्गलीनां त्रिपर्वकम् ।
यथा मृत्तिकया पूर्णं सा संख्यैका मृदः स्मृता ॥
हस्तं द्वादशभिः सव्यमष्टाभिः संहतौ करौ ।
गुदशौचं ततः कुर्याद्विंशतिस्तु मृदो गुदे ॥
प्रथमा प्रसूतिर्देया उत्तरे तु तदर्धके ।
चत्वारिंशत्करे सव्ये करयोः साष्टविंशतिः ॥
पादयोश्च त्रिरेकास्मिन्दिगुणं बालुका यदि ।
द्विराचम्य त्रिराचम्य प्राणानप्याचमेत्युनः ॥
—6.9-12
3. विरिक्तवान्तविष्णुमूत्रकरणेष्वथ संध्योः ।
स्नात्वान्तरान्तरादित्यं प्राणायामत्रयं चरेत् ॥
एकेन प्रणवेनैव प्राणायामा निशि स्मृताः ।
मध्याह्नकाले नैकेन काष्ठस्थो नाचमेद्यतिः ॥
—6.19-20
4. त्रिपदेत्यनयैवर्चा साधमर्षणसूक्तया ।
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**ABSTRACT FROM
REVIEW OF DEVALASMṚTI VOL.I BY SCHOLAR**

This is an excellent piece of Research, being a Ph.D. Thesis having a rare theme.....

It was, therefore, a long-felt desideratum to reconstruct the important lost *Smṛti* of Devala; which has at last been fulfilled by Dr. Wadekar's Thesis.

As rightly pointed out by Dr. A.N. Jani, his guide, in his foreword, the late Lammented *Vedaśāstra-sampanna* Pt. Jagannatha Shastri Shridhar Shastri Pade, a great savant of the Oriental Institute, Vadodara, who being well-versed in all *Sāstras*, was more popularly known simply as Padeshastri, entrusted this tremendous task to his worthy nephew-Sister's son- for his Thesis which he perseverantly and scrupulously completed to his utmost satisfaction under the able-guidance of Dr. Jani.....

The Introduction bears to the point discussions about all relevant points..... All his conclusions are supported by ample evidences..... This arrangement is quite scientific. Just as in a Critical Edition, the Critical Apparatus is given on each page, beneath the respective text-portions.....

The present Thesis furnishes not only the Reconstructed Text but also a critical study of the same presented in a separate volume. It would in deed have been in the fitness of things, had it been published in the same prestigious series (i.e. Gaekwad's Oriental Series).

Any way, we are very happy to welcome such an excellent piece of perseverant and scrupulous Research comprising indeed a valuable contribution to Sanskrit literature is general and *Dharmaśāstra* literature in particular. The world of scholars should not only congratulate Dr. Wadekar for the same but also feel thankful to him for reviving the full-fledged Text of an excellent ancient treatise in as perfect a form as possible. We eagerly await the publication of the second volume, comprising the critical study of this Text which is expected to throw light on certain novel features.

The get-up of the book is very nice, containing a picture of an *Āśrama* with a sage teaching his pupils under a tree, on the bank of river.

(Review published in
Journal of the Oriental
Institute, Baroda).

J.P. Thaker
Ex-Director, Oriental Institute,
M.S. University of Baroda, Baroda

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